

1960-1961 WORKERS VANGUARD, correspondence & documents
Socialist Education League/League for Socialist Action/Young Socialists

**Archival Items listed for information only, on file or at National Archives*

1960

*1960-00 (undated) Ruth Bullock (B.C. Trotskyist leader) taped memoirs (49pp file)

1960-01Jan1-1 Minutes of the PC - relations with Vancouver

1960-01Jan1-2 Letter to Ruth (B, Van.) defending Gerry Houle

1960-01Jan3 Letter to Jerry & Ruth: busy with Teamsters work

1960-01Jan9 Letter to Farrell (Dobb, SWP) re- the Toronto FWD teamsters

1960-01Jan13 Vancouver Forum flyer "The New Party" top left speakers

1960-01Jan15 (SEL) Anti-nuclear armament leaflet wins (wide) support

*1960-Jan15 LP representation & elections – Union & CCF brass (file)

1960-01Jan15 CBC 'Background' discussion on Leon Trotsky

1960-03Mar23 Telegram from NAACP supporting SEL Woolworth picket

1960-03Mar00 Photo: YSA protests France's Sahara H-Bomb tests

1960-03Mar00 New Party draft program fails to project alternative

1960-03Mar00 Comments on proposed New Party program

1960-03Mar00 "The Case for Socialism" – Worth remembering....

1960-03Mar00 New Party program (1)—Fails to project alternative

1960-03Mar15 The New-Party draft program – Public ownership

1960-03Mar15 Why nationalization should be written in

1960-03Mar15 The NP program – won't it lose us support?

1960-03Mar15 \$2000 needed by May 15 in Vanguard press fund

1960-03Mar15	New Party Program (2) —Why nationalization?
1960-04Apr15	Woolworth picket inToronto – Mass British bomb protest
1960-04Apr15	Integration fight winning, spreading (Cliff Cotton)
1960-04Apr15	Vancouver meeting protests treatment of Indians
1960-04Apr15	Held the <i>Vanguard</i> drive make \$2000 objective
*1960-May19	Flyer: SEL Banquet, featuring (US) SWP editor on Latin America;
1960-05May15	Cdn. Labor hails New Party at tumultuous convention
1960-05May15	New Labor Party discussions – BC CCF convention
*1960-May15	Sask. Medical hierarchy campaigns to defeat NDP
*1960-May15	Demand Canada Break from NORAD-NATO Pacts
*1960-May15	Democracy must prevail in NP – rights of Trotskyists
1960-05May15	<i>Edits:</i> Canada break from NATO—New party democracy
*1960-May15	Tribute to George Stanton, union militant (RD)
1960-05May15	On North Bay march against Bomarc (missile) bases
1960-06Jun13	Letter to Jerry (H.) re: Toronto developments
1960-06Jun15	New Labor Party boosted by CCF victory in Sask.
1960-06Jun15	Ont. Carpenters support NP, demand Intl. integrate
1960-06Jun15	Strontium in diet worse than in milk
1960-06Jun15	(<i>Vanguard</i>) Press fund goes over the top
*1960-Jun15	Japanese strike for peace, Eisenhower cancels trip
*1960-Jun1-	Edit -New possibilities (antiwar movement) (RD)
1960-07July5	Vancouver Human Rights Cttee. circular letter (Ruth H.)
1960-07July99a.	Speech on A-Bomb & H-Bomb scares

1960-07July99b.	Speech: can we survive nuclear attack?
1960-07July99c.	Speech: American counterparts to Diefenbaker, etc.
1960-07July99d	Speech: Possible questions --Who are real warmongers?
1960-07July15	Cease backing NATO war pact!- say CCF ranks
1960-07July15	Alta CCF rally gives lead to convention and New Party
1960-07July15	Bomb shelter painter fined -YSA/SEL picket Metro shelter
1960-07July15	Press (tour) report on Ontario lap of national tour
*1960-July15	Sask. Medical hierarchy pot (to defy medicare) (RD)
*1960-July15	Let the people vote on nuclear arms! (edit) (RD)
1960-08Aug9a	Handwritten letter to Jerry & Ruth: BC coverage in LC
1960-08Aug25	Copy SWP letter: SEL speaker on Canadian labor party
1960-09Sept6	Letter to Kerry (SWP): recommendation of a comrade
1960-09Sept14	“Youth Work” by Strong (Ernie T.) & Bannon (John W.)
1960-98Sept15	“Youth Report” by Joe Black (Joe Rosenblatt)
1960-09Sept28	Vancouver Sun: Ruth Bullock protesting nuclear shelters
1960-09Sept	CCF Convention demands Canada break from NATO
*1960-Sept	Edit: Bring Canadian forces back home from Congo
1960-09Sept	Delegates unanimously in support of Labor Party
1960-09Sept	NP program discussion buried by leaders' conflict
*1960-Sept	Max Armstrong review Weaver's “History for workers”(file)
1960-09Sept	Across the West with Vanguard trailblazers
1960-10Oct15	Hits opening of shelter hoax – Vancouver counter-demo
1960-10Oct15	Trailblazers hit the western campuses

1960-10Oct15	Break the US embargo –boost trade with Cuba
1960-10Oct15	Come to the aid of Cuban people – BC labor to find truth
*1960-Oct15	Edit: Calling all socialists (build the left wing in NP
1960-12NovDec	(Pickets) Protest threats against Cuban (revolution)
*1960-NovDec	SEL carried banner in Toronto civic elections (RD)
*1960-NovDec	Opportunity & responsibility (CCF by-elections)
1960-98	(Undated) Message of Greetings to SWP convention
1960-99a	Flyer: Towards a free Revolutionary Art
 1961	
1961-00a	(undated) (found in BC-SIC/LSA) Draft Socialist Program (for NP)
1961-01Jan00-1	(found in 1961) Draft On founding of (LSA), para.1-2-3-4
1961-01Jan30	Toronto Star: 'Fair Play for Cuba' Group Formed
1961-01Jan	Edit- A NEW Party—Open to all and genuinely democratic
1961-01Jan	Edit- A socialist policy for the New Party
1961-01Jan	Ends trusteeship (Teamsters, Trade Union Notes)
1961-02Feb8	Letter to B. Bloom, Montreal, re: offer to send copies of journal
1961-02Feb9	Vancouver Flyer: "The Arms Race or the Human Race?"
1961-02Feb10	Vancouver Forum notice: topics & speakers FebMarch
1961-02Feb14	PC Minutes: Vancouver matters & press
1961-02Feb19	Meeting flyer: RD on "Trade unions and the New Party"
1961-02Feb24	Vancouver Forums notice Feb. & March topics and speakers
1961-02Feb15	<i>Vanguard</i> Feb. 1961 - We should vote on nuclear arms

1961-02Feb15	Ntl. Fair Play for Cuba Cttee launched at mass rally
*1961-Feb15	We should vote on nuclear arms (on file)
*1961-Feb15	Is Referendum (on nuclear arms) a good demand
*1961-Feb15	Defenders of Cuba smeared by Stalinist CP press
*1961-Feb15	(BC)Discuss how to shape NP -meet needs of workers (File)
1961-03Mar18a	Fair Play for Cuba Cttee. Leaflet "Cuba & Canadian Labor"
1961-03Mar18b	Western Pulp & Paper Worker letters on Cuba
*1961-Mar15	Anti-Bomb march across country
1961-03Mar15	Edit - Democracy key to building New Party
1961-03Mar15	BC Labor urges NP adopt unilateral disarmament
*1961-Mar	Photo: 2000 anti-nuclear arms demonstrators hear Rabbi
1961-03Mar15	BCers urge NP adopt a socialist program
1961-03Mar15	Around the New Party - Need your aid in fund drive
1961-04Apr15	Letter to Dick & Clara, BC, re: Branches 1 & 2 conflict
1961-04Apr15-2	Letter to Blair & Douglas, Vancouver: re question of unity
1961-05May	Labor Councils protest invasion of Cuba – Fund drive
1961-06Jun6-1	Letter to Bob & Carson: success & danger in small-town USA
1961-06Jun6-2	Letter to Reg (B, Van.) Personnel & other problems
1961-06Jun	League for Socialist Action Founded
1961-06Jun	The LSA founded: What it is and What it wants
*1961-Jun	Editorial – Long Live the LSA! (SEL & SIC unite)
*1961-Jun	The LSA essential to future of New Party
*1961-Jun	Launch left wing caucus to win NP to socialist policy

*1961-Jun	Make NP force for peace – Break Canada from NATO
1961-06Jun	Teamsters (local 938) clash (Trade Union Notes)
1961-06Jun	For union rights (UAW member Hugh Dowson refused)
1961-07July13	Letter from J.P. Cannon, SWP: re sectarian turn in Britain
1961-07July	What kind of policy for NP? Anti-capitalist, Socialist
*1961-July	New Party great leap forward (RD)
1961-07July	Must break from NATO now! -- Bronson, Fawcett, Pawley
1961-07July	Join and build the New (Democratic) Party now!
1961-07July	Alta. CCF gives lead to NP founding rally
*1961-July	Lessons in conflict in British Labour Party (RD)
1961-07July	Fair Play (for Cuba) added onto RCMP blacklist
1961-08Aug8a	Letter from R.D. (for PC) re meeting with Vancouver comrade
1961-08Aug11	Letter to R. S., Montreal, sending Vanguard and literature
1961-Aug	NDP founded – Join it, build it, to win power
*1961-Aug	Big union representation at stirring convention
1961-08Aug	(NDP) Fails to adopt anti-war policy after stormy debate
1961-08Aug	Delegates clear way to win Quebec to NDP
1961-08Aug	New Youth Movement promising despite birth pangs
1961-08Aug	Give and take between brass and grass at convention
1961-08Aug	Applaud greetings from Cuba trade unions
1961-08Aug	A balance sheet of the Convention
1961-09Sept26	SWP letter from Tom Kerry: thanks for SEL donations
1961-09Sept30	Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba meeting public speaker

1961-09Sept	Let the people vote nuclear warheads for Canada
*1961-Sept	Fugitive from RCMP-FBI Southern kidnap frame-up (file)
*1961-Sept	Edit – Call off RCMP – 'I am not guilty' - Williams
*1961-Sept	Editorial: Keep McCarthyism out of the NDP
1961-09Sept	Shelter drama falls as pickets protest nuclear arms
1961-10Oct2	Letter to G.B.(Van.) re cost of Vanguard insert for BC
1961-10Oct8a	Flyer: Vancouver H-Bomb Fallout shelter protests
1961-10Oct	Ferment on Toronto campus (anti-war, Cuba support)
1961-10Oct	Rally lays basis for militant Ont. NDP Youth movement
1961-10Oct	Left prepares for forming of BC-NDP
1961-10Oct	Think it over – The case for women's choice on abortion
*1961-Oct	Ont. New Democratic Party underway – high promise
*1961-Oct	Take up West Coast Union's Nuclear-arms referendum
*1961-Oct	Edit – For an end to all tests
*1961-Oct	Evades RCMP – Williams in Cuba
1961-11Nov5	Vancouver flyer: Hands Off Cuba! US troops out! picket line
1961-11Nov15	Letter Ruth Bullock to Ruth (H?) re Memorial Day actions
1961-11Nov17	Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba flyer: Hear the truth
1961-11Nov	Stalin 'cult' felled by Soviet masses
1961-11Nov	BC NDP launched with high promise
1961-11Nov	Douglas frustrates will of Saskatchewan NDP
1961-11Nov	Time to re-think where the NDP must stand
*1961-Nov	End of the Stalin 'cult' - Khrushchov denounces (RD)

1961-12Dec2	Letter to Ken O (Van.) welcoming him on tour
1961-12Dec	What are the facts on Weyburn (Sask) NDP defeat?
*1961-Dec	Lively interest in Cuba at NDP campus rallies
*1961-Dec	Protest proscription of Vanguard and Press
*1961-Dec	Edit - Defend democracy in the NDP!
*1961-Dec	Edit - Implement convention policy!
1961-97	(Found in 1961) Flyer: Why a Fair Play for Cuba (Toronto)
1961-98	(Found in 1961) 7 books on Cuba (Toronto)
1961-99	(Undated) RD hand letter to Ruth & Jerry re FPCC & etc.

Minutes of the Political Committee of Jan. 1st:60

Present: Strong; Kent; Adair; Bannen; Secty. Strong.

Kent: Read to the PC his letter sent to the Vancouver City Exec. in response to the decisions and actions reported in the Exec. minutes.

Strong: Motion that the PC endorse the letter. Carried.

Kent: Reported receiving a number of communications from Van, some of them being protests against his sending the Toronto minutes to the City Exec and not to the branches and among them protests about sending the PC minutes to only one of the resident Van. NC members. In sending the minutes to the NC members he had urged that they meet together to discuss them.

Discussion: Kent emphasized that the minutes were sent to the City Exec. with the thought that this would be acceptable to the comrades as the City Exec is a leaking body in the area. There was no intention on the part of Kent to deprive the branches of access to the minutes.

Discussion on the motivations given in protesting Kent's action re the NC minutes: The PC disagreed with Douglas' opinion that the holding of regular meetings by the Van. NC members would mean the setting up of two national committees. The PC felt that it was desirable that the PC should regularly receive the collective opinions of the Van. NC members. As these comrades constituted some of the most developed comrades in the party, the PC felt that they should meet regularly and especially when PC minutes arrive.

Discussion on communications received reporting the proposed removal of McPherson from the City Exec: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ While it was true that the committee had been set up by the convention on a representative basis, the PC felt that too rigid an interpretation was being given to this and that removing McPherson from the committee would serve no purpose particularly since his removal was being asked for on factional grounds and that Branch #2's majority on the committee would not be imperilled if he remained on. We suggest that the resolution calling for McPherson's removal from the City Exec should be withdrawn.

The PC took note of letters recieved protesting the behaviour of McPherson:

It was considered that this was an internal affair of Branch #2 and that the branch should handle it.

---- Statement from Douglas, outlining his interpretation of the last convention decisions, was read to the PC.

Feeling was that it was implicit in the convention decisions that the the City Ex should be more than a con-

(Setting itself) ~~bringing about~~ ^{realizing} ~~the specific task of realizing~~ ^{itself} immediate organic unity, proceed to unite

our public activities in preparation for the emergence of

our projected more open national organization. It was felt

that the Bruce letter could be amplified in this respect.

It was understood that this ^{letter} was to be presented to Branch #2 for adoption.

Motion: The PC endorses Bruce's version (in general) of what our last national convention decision and intent were, ^{as the C.E.} Carried.

under letters:

It was brought to the attention of the PC that a comrade Munzer has been sending to various people, letters containing numerous allegations bringing into question the political loyalties and integrity of several comrades.

Discussion.

Motion: We consider these actions of Munzers a violation of the accepted and traditional standards of relations between comrades in our party and we request Branch

1 to instruct this comrade of the proper attitudes between comrades, demanding ^{that he} ~~him to~~ cease and desist from this activity. Carried.

Meeting adjourned at 10.30pm.

January 1, 1960

Dear Ruth; (B) (Vancouver)

Sorry to have been so long in answering your November 23rd letter--and now there is your December 23rd letter.

Let me take up the latest first. I have known Jerry as a revolutionary socialist and as a man for I guess 6 or 7 years now. He is one of the most dedicated socialists I have met. He has a good grasp of our ideas and has a strong loyalty to our movement. Some of his strong points politically are his honesty, and his doggedness. But I know from my own experience that these characteristics have been on occasion transformed into something quite far removed from their origins.

I have never known him to be as abusive, as arrogant and as intolerant as you suggest in your letter but I do not find your presentations so far removed from certain episodic experiences that I have had to disbelieve them.

Obviously such behaviour cannot be ignored. It is not only in the interest of the party in general but in the interests of developing comrade Jerry himself as the ~~most~~ effective revolutionary that we all know he aspires to be that we come to grips with this problem.

Of course as you well know he is not an agent of the PC or of Toronto endowed with any special powers or authorities. Even if in some way we were able to in some way invest ourselves with such authority you well know that it is completely contrary to all our concepts of organization. Jerry is a member of the Vancouver branch -like any other member subject to the discipline of the Vancouver branch in this case Branch 2. If he is to be expected to conduct himself in anyway different from others it would be in a way that accurately reflected his strikingly positive features which we all know

I am sure that we are all aware of what lies behind Jerry's conduct as you describe it (and which I am not questioning). He has in the face of the possibilities as he sees them before us and the responsibilities as he sees are ours developed a great impatience about the situation there. It appears obvious that he want to bring about immediate unity of the two branches. In his impatience to realize this he has drawn some very sharp conclusions about everyone involved in the situation which possibly have certain elements of truth but which are not a balanced and rational evaluation.

I think that you comrades there should bring him up to a halt. No one, no matter what the scope of his contribution has the right ~~the~~ interfere in the normal processes of the meetings, to heckle, interject etc. No one has the right to label any other comrade anyone's stooge, to be insulting or abusive. I think there are many ways of coming to grips with such situations. He can be ruled out of order

out of order, he can be asked to withdraw, to apologize, he can be censored, he can be asked to leave the meeting. I know you know about these various methods of assuring proper comradely relations are maintained in our branch meetings. and city executive meetings.

I have only raised ~~the~~ previously what I think lies behind Jerry's conduct not in anyway as an apology--there can be none if his conduct has been as you say. I raise it primarily so that you and the rest of the comrades ~~will~~ watch that you ~~do not~~ ~~do not~~ ~~do not~~ do not take any intemperate actions.

For instance do you think anything particularly is gained by removing Jerry from the city executive. The motivation outlined in Shelly's note are factional--that he has not supported the decisions of Branch 2 or the decisions at the national conference as Shelley understands them--and that he has carried on a disruptive and insulting campaign against other branch 2 delegates. Aside from Jerry Branch 2 is well represented--having the majority without counting him. He certainly doesn't represent the viewpoint of anyone in Branch 1 on the decisions of the national conference. ---on the decisions to move out. Grieve in snide little asides is still campaigning against the convention orientation. The matter of personal relations will of course be resolved on the branch plane where they are only being carried over from onto the city executive. I would be much concerned about the impact of any such action on Branch 1. The whole thing comes at a bad time too--for with Malcolm's letter which I understand you are voting on you are asking the PC to affirm or deny your interpretation of the convention opinion on the aims and objectives, the character of the city executive.

I believe that Malcolm's interpretation of the convention decision is substantially correct--I would only move out a little more from it. The PC will be informing you of its opinion to this effect. I would think that this will have a settling effect on the situation and probably make such organizational moves as Shelle suggests not only unnecessary but inadvisable.

It is now twelve midnight and I must close. Will pick up many of the other matters you raise in your letters at first opportunity.

fraternally

Ross

January 3, 1960

Dear Jerry and Ruth;

Mostly Jerry—since I see that there is a beauty on his head. I have intended to write you this note a dozen times but I thought that I was racing against time with the paper but now so many things have piled up so to hell with it. This is the most important anyway as you will have received a copy of the comments on the city executive minutes that I am sure you have many disagreements, even strong ones, with x

You have no idea how much time this situation developing in the Teamssters is taking. I was at long last expecting I would have a clear day to work on the paper yesterday but they wanted a party member caucus --started at 1;30 and I finally proOfed a stancil with Harry about 7;45. I will be glad when Sunday come around as the vote starts then and the campaign is ended. But what if we get elected and the fellows--all of them are quite confident that we will get a couple. Yesterday they were seriously talking about the wages and how we would use them for FWD.

But the big question--Vancouver. You say that it is necessary to enforce convention decisions. Of course one of the best things we could have at hand to help settle this would be the document on launching the open left wing of the New Party. I feel very badly about my failure to have this off. But we haven't it off and went for a few weeks and things are moving.

Well the first thing is to establish just what the convention decisions were. I see you have gone to the tapes--and you are right when you say that Branch 2 was opposed to the decision. Hmm..when I say branch two I mean Reg who I recall openly protested against the city executive. He waid in so many words that he wanted nothing to do with Branch 1. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
They thought that they had solved something when they walked out of Branch one and set up two. But they solved nothing as Branch one did not dissappear. If it had, everything would have been solved but Branch one survived, picked up a couple of people and continued to identify itself with Trotskyism thereby compelling anyone else who identified himself with Trotskyism to have to take it into account.

I think that there is a real and lasting lesson in this--that nothing absolutely nothing can be solved by organizational methods. Many times you just create bigger headaches than before.

I remember taking the mike and talking about fusion in action. If at the time of the convention Branch one had walked away then we would have had a solution of a kind but they would have broken on political grounds and in all probability they would have disappeared. ..they would have found no sustenance anywhere--from Pablo, the IC, the SWP etc. But they didn't walk away. Therefore the only thing that could be done with both branch one and two was to go through some new experiences--hence with City executive. The city executive idea had many merits not the least being that we decided to launch ourselves as an organized left wing in the new party. This would compel us I think to have a common public front in Vancouver or at least move in that direction - in the meantime

As we moved out in this direction in Vancouver--you recall we talked about holding something like the rallies that our English comrades have held--we would be arguing and discussing with branch one and two, straightening out some and settling accounts with others. At anyrate the city executive could long be merely an exchange of information bureau--it would inevitably start to carry our actions commonly agreed upon--after all neither has extensive forces.

^B Ruth talks about the CE being a temporary organization--I think thereby expressing their old doubts about it, distaste of it, and hope that somehow it will disappear. But there are two groups in Vancouver calling themselves Trotskyist. If they are unable to realize an organic unity they must at least inevitably find some basis of collaboration--particular when there is little or no consistent difference which even appears to be developing into a distinct political tendency. They both may make a farce of the city executive but try as they may they can not get around it or some variation of it as long as they both claim to be Trotskyist and in some sense act as Trotskyists.

One might think that the best possible development would be that they both split apart and the best element from each came together and constituted the movement on a new basis in Vancouver. But at this time this is only a pipe dream. There are no tendencies in this direction. At best anyone holding this view could at this time only hope to pick up a few people from both who would constitute themselves as a third group. And even so as long as the other two existed and carried on even a modest activity ~~any~~ you could ignore them, you couldn't get around the need for some kind of city executive. This would be true even if both one and two proved to be exhausted of any worthwhile material and this person were able to establish connections among new layers--as long as they existed they would have to be taken into account. Of course as time went on some possible third group might develop in such a scope as to be able to move on a broad plane quite independently of the other two--success in this would either overcome the differences through fusion or dissipation of the forces of the others.

But the hard reality of the situation right now is that the two groups exist and Trotskyism must get a hearing

In my opinion--in the opinion of Alan, Ernie and John the version presented by Malcolm of the convention is by and large an accurate one. We did not decide to force organic unity--we could have carried out such a decision. We set up the City executive to bring about fusion in action. to exchange information to co-ordinate our efforts in areas where both one and two had forces--to move forward in the direction of launching a public left wing caucus in the NP. Of course with the long history of differences of a largely personal character, then too differences in orientation this is not an easy and comfortable body to work in. It requires patience, in many cases I would think a sort of divorcement in order to keep the proper perspective. Malcolm presents the CE in somewhat a static way--heavy on the exchange of information weak on coming to agreement and mobilization of forces around an activity which would find one and two in common agreement. Of course no group should be seriously inhibited by the other. ~~Each is able to go forward without the other~~ Each is able to go forward without the other when there is no agreement about an action. But when one has a good action it is difficult to believe that the other won't be under considerable pressure to go along and that one confident of ~~its~~ its authority in the situation would not seek the aid of the other.

At anyrate the city executive is not recognized by either branch as other than a coordinating body. Branch one is not prepared to accept any discipline from the CE as it is a minority on it--a minority of one--branch two is not prepared to accept discipline from the CE as it really didn't want the CE in the first place but found that it had to go along with it. ~~But~~ But the CE has the possibility of becoming something more than an information bureau for there are many activities inevitably coming up which both cannot help but agree are necessary and cannot effectively conducted without the employment of both forces. For instance I thought it particularly worthwhile to point out that there were no directives with regards to Reg's comments on a fair play for Cuba committee

They could beef about the picket line, about Grieve and many other related incidents but it is difficult not to talk if not impossible not to talk in a practical manner about a FPFCC without common agreement with branch one. They claim that Branch one ties these matters up in knots with endless queries delays etc. But here we in the East can come into action. As we have. ~~latex~~ it is true. Should have thought of this before. I don't think that the city executive is at all finished. After all the convention set it up. I see now that we should get the PC involved in some aspects of it. We are in a position to move in on such a matter as the FPFCC if there is any stall--no one can oppose it--at most they can just let it slip by ~~by doing~~ nothing.

I gather from two long and detailed letters from Ruth, one from Malcolm and a note signed by Shelley that you have been putting everyone in his place. I know there is much grounds for telling everyone what you really think of them and I suppose after suppressing this for a long time there is a certain satisfaction. But do you think that anything has been gained by it? ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I know that it is hard to always guide oneself by what is good and in the interest of the movement when it comes to dealing with some of the West Coast comrades. But it would seem from these various letters that your fire wasn't concentrated but splattered onto everyone and that the term of reference were such as to make it difficult for anyone to overlook it. It would seem to me that you have done a lot of harm to the good will and respect that you have built up over the previous period and which you are certainly worthy of. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ They have appealed to us to intervene. Well how can we here defend a comrade who calls another a stooge. We can't defend that action as such. We wrote them and told them that this is a matter for them to handle--~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I tried as much as I could to tell them their responsibility in creating the background. I hope that they think twice about removing you from the CE. Then they will have transformed the CE really and truly just into an ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ information bureau...when if you are able to handle things right it can be an instrument for the unification of the party there (which doesn't necessarily mean one branch) and if not that ~~xx~~ a vehicle for sorting out the good elements from the worked out ones. We have told Ruth that we consider your removal to be entirely motivated by factional reasons and that since they are well assured of the majority on the CE anyway we think that they should not remove you.

We are straightening up this matter of the minutes. I took for granted that the NC members would be meeting out there to give us the benefit of their collective opinion. ..much more valuable than getting a letter from this one and another from that one. For instance Malcolm and Reg had totally different opinions on the handling of the election issue of the paper. Malcolm wanted us to use the election issue for the national issue with only a few adjustments--Reg would ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ demand two issues with the national one having only a minor article. Did they exchange views--doubtful. I dropped a note in the copy of the minutes that I sent Reg asking him what he thought of one copy going out... and I must confess without giving it much prominence in my mind that I thought one copy would encourage a meeting. At anyrate right now Ernie is typing out a copy for everyone. And we have agreed to send both one and two copies of Toronto minutes--really small potatoes but they build them up.

Thanks for the information on the editor set up. I had forgotten about the details of the convention in this respect. We made a real mistake in not having recorded minutes at that convention.. Will handle this at the next ~~MP~~PC meeting.

Now don't get me wrong on this previous material. I tend to agree with you that in manyways we have to start from scratch out there--that most of the material we have now is played out. I recall your reference to some comments about the situation in the CPSU as seen by Zimoviev or was it Trotsky. But that doesn't at all mean that we can completely jump over this material even if we were convinced that there is nothing there--and I am not convinced of this. As I see it we have to go about our business without being too agitated by this or that situation, choosing our grounds to fight on and to educate anyone who can be educated. I don't think I would be hesitant about taking anyone I came across into either branch. I don't think some of these comrades are too difficult to make an appreciation of.

I feel badly about not being of more positive aid. Why dont you make very concrete propositions from time to time.

Noted the part about our "comrades" stand at Stanley Park re-the Vanguard. But we cannot do anything here on such a matter---could be taken up by persons who were there on the respective branch floors.

I went through the branch correspondence and the minutes on the CR where they deal with the hall and its use by Branch 2. From the records---which are of course what we have to work from---it would appear that Branch ~~number two~~ has committed no offence. From the records anyway. What do you think of our moving out to urge that the hall be placed in the hands of the CR. Interested to know the reaction

Noted your comments with regards to Young's paper appeal to other socialists to appear on the editorial board or contributors list of Press. I think that here is a place where we can cut into those fatuous comments about this little organ and that little organ. Our comrades should not be identified with that seetrain rag of Young's. It is scandalous in my opinion that Malcolm has not written anything for our paper over his name yet while he has done so many times in Young's paper which cannot in my opinion be justified on the basis that it provides any audience of any importance for our ideas. The gain is not at all for our ideas---it is a one way street---all gain to the Press for any of us to appear in it...particularly when these same persons so persistently fail to identify themselves with our paper. Should an opportunity present itself I think that this should be taken up---not in passing---not in a sniping way but in detail and in an educational way. The forum with Young sounds like a good idea.

Tom and Mona have arrived. Already Alan has asked Tom if Mona is coming to the branch meeting and joining the branch as he feels from what he has heard her say in Vancouver that she does not agree with our viewpoint. Tom was suprised and commented something to the effect that she has changed in the meantime. Jerry and Dave McKinney seem to be fitting in well. Jerry is not working yet---but Dave got a terrific job---\$60 a week---as drummer at Massey Harris---an office job of sorts going out into the plant. Tonight we were talking about his approaching the personnel director to see if there are any courses that he could take at night school that they would find useful for him to enter the plant with. We think he will be in the union after three months. A very good fellow---quite young and with no experience but very serious. Right now he is carrying a campaign with me to have Joe R bounced as YSA organizer and I cant help but feel that he is right. Jerry drops in for a couple of hours every day gives us a hand at various matters then disappears. Has met various people under various circumstances who appear to have real possibilities but it seems to me that the big problem is following up. Disappeared for a couple of days...seems that he just decided to go up to Borden---met several fellows who seem to him to be first rate---one in particular. Met a Yugoslav somewhere who appears to have a group around him. Havent followed this up. We had him give an educational & couple of weeks ago. On Evolution and Revolution which Alan pushed for. Very superficial with all kinds of formulas and stock phrases. But he certainly knows how to move around---and if we can follow him up. We are hoping that we can get him into some teamsters barn which seems highly possible after the New Year.

But I must answer Malcolm's lengthy letter

Warmest regards

Ross

January 9, 1960

SWP

Dear Farrell;

We received your very nice letter on the teamsters paper. Gave all concerned a lift. Vince also sent along a note and is loaning us the file of Local 544's paper. The election is now underway--ballots will be cast all this week-up until Thursday. The final days of the campaign saw a flood of red baiting attacks against us. Some of them were so pureile that we decided to let them pass. However one came out Thursday night that we felt we should meet head on with a reply which in passing would handle all the rest. We worked it out Thursday night and hit the major barnes Friday with it. I am enclosing a copy. Incidentally one of the teamsters involed in this arson charge was picked up Sunday by the police. Davidson has also been smeared by one of the bosses as having been paid off by him keep his mouth shut about certain grienvances in that particular shop.. This Gill Transport arson case is a peculiar one ---Hoffa I understand has loaned this outfit considerable money--it has been trying to borrow more money when along comes this \$300,000 fire in the midst of a strike. The case has been hanging around the courts for a long time. On Saturday FWD held a meeting for all team ters. It was a big success. Some fifty men turned out--the local usually mobilizes 100. Our boys handled themselves well and it would seem that we will be seriously cutting into one of the caucuses--taking over its best elements. The voting started Sunday and the poll was heavy--which we think favors us. A core of the fifty were fellows who had nenver attended a local meeting or at least do not attend them. You will recall what the old man said about those who are active in the locals today (1938) and those who are absenting themselves from the meetings. Another thing in our favor is that the voting will be on the up and up. The government is ~~xxxxxxx~~ conducting the whole thing--one of our boys is a scrutineer. Hard to say how it will go. But it would seem that it is highly possible that we can win or at least take a couple of posts. Thursday night the investigation committee opens up. We will be working out our strategy on this in the next couple of days. The key fellows in the caucus have grown considerably. I am confident that we can assimilate t them all. They are leaning heavily on us for guidance. Biggest break we have ever had and is going to really proletarianize the branch. If we win we will manage to make al kinds of connections in other locals. Of course there will be all kinds of problems arise. We are coming across all kinds of teamsters who are not only militants but radicals politically. Hard to say what effect the red baiting is going to have on the vote but many fellows ~~xxxx~~ talk quite proudly about their intentions of voting the Red Star Slate. One of our boys silently listened to a lengthy and very knowledgeable disucssion between two militants we did not previously know about Lenin-Trotsky and the Russian Revolution.

All this and several other matters make it impossible for me to attend the plenum this coming week-end. I am having to play the leading role in this above situation. Way behind in the paper--a lot of turmoil in Vancouver these days and so forth. While he will be able to contribute little or nothing we would like to propose that our confrere at the school be seated as a fraternal delegate. I think that he is a very promising comrade and it would be an invaluable experience. Extend our greetings to the assembly

fraternally

Ross

Vancouver - Formed in 1960

SOCIALIST FORUM

875 EAST HASTINGS

FRIDAY, JAN. 13TH AT 8 p.m.

"THE NEW PARTY"

WHOSE INTERESTS WILL IT SERVE?

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?

HEAR:

MA LCOM BRUCE, ROD YOUNG AND CEDRIC COX, M.L.A.,

discuss this topic.

ADD YOUR IDEAS IN THE FORUM PERIOD - ENJOY THE
INFORMAL SOCIAL WHICH FOLLOWS THE MEETING.

Anti-Nuclear Armament Leaflet Wins Warm Cross-Canada Support

The words THERE IS STILL TIME, time to stop the nuclear armament of Canada, headline a leaflet calling for a series of actions, that has been published by the Socialist Educational League and is winning a wide distribution across the country.

The leaflet calls for: the forwarding of resolutions of protest from all social, cultural, and labor organizations, to the government against the erection and nuclear armament of the Bomarc bases and nuclear armament of Canadian forces; for demonstrations such as the student motorcade on Ottawa; for support and encouragement to the CCF MP's to live up to and act upon promises to oppose nuclear weapons on Canadian soil and end expenditures on so-called defence installations; and support to the new labor party.

Originally the plan was a modest one—distribution to audiences coming out of the Canadian premiere of ON THE BEACH showing in a Toronto theatre. The response has been so enthusiastic that it has become a major project for militant opponents of war in several key areas.

Some 32,000 copies of the leaflet have come off the presses so far and we are holding the type for further runs at \$5 per 1,000, postpaid. The secretary of a provincial section of the CCF has enquired as to costs of replacing sponsorship lines for circulation in that province. The Political Education Committee of an important Ontario union local has taken 1,000. We "intend to circularize the leaflet amongst our membership and other union members" in the area, they write.

Vancouver has taken 6,000, the bulk of them bearing the imprint of the Socialist Information Bureau. The campuses in Winnipeg have been covered by 2,000 copies, and the same number went to a socialist militant for circulation in Kenora and district. McMaster University students in Hamilton welcomed the leaflet—a leading campus CCF club activist has enquired as to the possibilities of running the leaflet off over their imprint.

A couple of subscriptions to the VANGUARD came in following distribution to the students at the University of Toronto. Persons coming from seeing ON THE BEACH show serious interest with usually a few making enquiries and expressing words of solidarity. The Toronto SEL is now in the process of covering all the major factories in the area.

We are in touch with socialists and militants in various unions and on several other campuses across the country and at the time of writing we anticipate a widening of interest in placing this leaflet into as many hands as possible.

CBC-TV “Background” on Leon Trotsky

(From Workers' Vanguard, January 1960)

The following is a condensed version of the transcript of the program BACKGROUND on which the internationally known historian Isaac Deutscher was interviewed by Canadian Broadcasting Commission moderator Nathan Cohen. This program appeared over the CBC's TV channel six on Dec. 27 at 11:15 p.m. and was shown again the following week. The last part of the material contained in this transcript did not appear on the original program probably because of time limitations. Deutscher and Cohen discuss the life of Leon Trotsky on which Deutscher has already written two volumes: THE PROPHET ARMED and THE PROPHET UNARMED of a projected three volume work. (*'The Prophet Outcast' was published in 1963 – ed.*)

COHEN: You always thought of him as the great man, as a great revolutionary.

DEUTSCHER: Yes, I always thought of him and I still think of him as one of the greatest figures in the histories of revolutions and as one of the greatest, how shall I put it, intellects of our age.

COHEN: Well alright, let's take that point... in what did his greatness consist of?

DEUTSCHER: His greatness showed itself in the various aspects of his activity 'because he's a very many-sided personality . . . he was the leader of the first Russian revolution of 1905 and he was in 1905 the first leader to declare that the Soviet is the form, the institutional form of the next Russian revolution. In 1906 he developed his theory of Permanent Revolution in which he forecast that the Russian revolution, would not stop in its bourgeois phase but would pass into a socialist phase. A viewpoint which was then rejected by Mensheviks and Bolsheviks alike ... he was the practical leader of the October revolution in 1917. He was the founder of the Red Army, he was the actual inspirer of the Red Army and its actual leader throughout the period of the civil war . . . he created the Red Army almost out of nothing . . . Lenin for instance almost despaired of the possibility of creating a new army and Trotsky created it. Now he was then the one who formulated the whole program of Russia's 'industrialization. The program which Stalin carried out later with many distortions . . . well perhaps that's enough for one man of action but he wasn't only a man of action, he was a thinker. He was a brilliant writer. I think that his *History of the Russian Revolution* is probably one, certainly one of the greatest works of history that have ever been written.

Trotsky's Prognosis Correct

COHEN: And yet Mr. Deutscher, this man with all these qualities was unable to foresee or unable to do anything in the realistic and practical manner to prevent the Soviet state from taking the turn it did after Lenin died?

DEUTSCHER: There are situations in history, and there are forces in history that are much stronger than individual foresight, than the genius of a leader... he had a very clear premonition, that he was not going to win, that he would be defeated.

COHEN: I wonder, sir, if it didn't have something to do with the fact that he was an intellectual and that the entire approach of the intellectual to an event, to a movement based presumably on the strength of the workers is, essentially, when put to the practical test, theoretical and alienated from the realities of experience.

DEUTSCHER: the greatest initiators of the greatest political movements were always intellectuals in one way or another. Wasn't Luther an intellectual for his day? Wasn't Jefferson an intellectual? Well of all the political influences of our people is there any influence that is greater for good and evil than the influence of Karl Marx who spent thirty years of his life in London in the British Museum over very dusty, very dusty unknown obscure volumes . . . the intellectuals in the early years of the Russian Revolution worked in very close and good harmony with the workers ... surely Trotsky's approach wasn't theoretical and alienated from the realities when he was able to build up an army to win a civil war... he wasn't alienated — yes, but you think of the later period, of the period of defeat.

COHEN: I was thinking of his assumption that the moment revolution did break loose there would be contagion spreading all over Europe — the Permanent Revolution theory.

DEUTSCHER: ... in the whole theory of Permanent Revolution in which Trotsky was still author but which in the years of the revolution was implicitly also Lenin's theory. . . there are so to say, two elements, a basic element and a secondary one. The basic element consisted in this, that the Bolsheviks recognized that the Russian revolution wouldn't be self-sufficient. That this was not just a revolution within one nation's state, that this revolution was bound to spread, that the conflict that led to revolution in Russia existed also elsewhere. And that the revolution would transcend so to say the boundaries of a single state. That was the basic element. . . . events have given an answer and have justified the theory of Permanent Revolution. The Russian revolution has not remained the only revolution of its kind. There is the Chinese revolution, there was the Yugoslav revolution. Very different and yet basically identical in pattern. You have a Soviet Bloc. You speak about the Soviet Bloc, this is not the time of Stalin's socialism in a single country anymore. Now as far as this basic question is concerned whether the Russian revolution was a self-sufficient historical development I think that the offers of Trotsky in particular, offers of Permanent Revolution, are justified by the events.

COHEN: There was another — if I put it this way — a mistake that they made, of course, connected with the theory of Permanent Revolution and that was the assumption that when you took over the apparatus and machinery of government that the group which took over that power would not attempt to monopolize and hold that power for itself. Do you agree with that?

DEUTSCHER: Yes, but that was so to say an honourable mistake. By this I mean a mistake which does honour to those who made it. They made the assumption that the revolution would be some sort of war of class democracy and in which no single group would monopolize power for itself. This assumption has been proved wrong in particular circumstances because of particular circumstances. If you will allow me to be so immodest as to quote myself in my last volume, well, the Russian working class proved incapable of exercising its own dictatorship and that was why the proletariat dictatorship turned out to be a bureaucratic dictatorship. . . there simply

wasn't a working class, wasn't a working class after the civil war... it was decimated, broken up, shrunken, demoralized, sociologically speaking you couldn't even see a working class in existence in Russia at that time and that explains the rise of the bureaucratic power. It doesn't follow that if a working class had won in the revolution in any other country, a strongly developed, numerically strong, educated, self-confident working class, that it would allow the bureaucracy to usurp power in the same way.

Why Stalinists Fear Trotskyism

COHEN: . . . I suggest that in fact whereas Trotsky had the qualities that made him one of the right men and one of the architects of the revolution at the time of the revolution, that he did not have those qualities which would enable him to continue to discharge his role after the initial period was over.

DEUTSCHER: But he saw his role after that initial period was over in the existing regime which was establishing itself in the post-revolutionary period. The bureaucratic regime, Stalin's dictatorship. He didn't see his role as seizing power by hook or crook, he didn't see his role in necessarily maintaining himself in office; he saw his role in being the spokesman and the mouthpiece for the hopes of the revolution which was now in a way to some extent being frustrated.

COHEN: Well what was there about Trotsky then and what is loosely called Trotskyism that drove the Stalinists and their supporters in other countries to such furries against Trotsky once he went into exile. Why did the defeat of everything Trotsky stood for be in a sense more urgent and more necessary to them than the successful development of Communist forces in other countries and matters of that sort?

DEUTSCHER: Well Trotsky remains something like the conscience of the revolution. You see at the time when Communism was involved in so many compromises, in so many crimes, in so much hypocrisy, there was something like an uneasy conscience in the Communist parties — International communism. And that conscience, articulate conscience was — of Communism — was Trotsky.

Differs With Trotsky

COHEN: May I ask what these particular ideas have been where you now differ from Trotsky?

DEUTSCHER: I would say Trotsky obviously overrated the chances of and the possibilities of socialist revolution in the West. In this respect, he continued the classical Marxist tradition which as I said before had this flaw that it really underrated the stability of what is called in Marxist idiom, the bourgeois authority in the West and the possibility of society expanding under capitalism.

Whether this is a fundamental error which will be seen as such say a hundred years from now, or whether that was an error in the estimate of the immediate situation and in a situation for 30 or 40 years ahead, that is a different question; that, people will be able to discuss a hundred years

from now. I also think that Trotsky in the last phase of his life was despairing of Soviet society .and saw no possibility of any movement for reform developing within Soviet society.

COHEN: Do you think he was in error on that?

DEUTSCHER: In this I think he was in error. I think he underrated the vitality of the new Soviet society that was growing up under Stalinism and was potentially growing out of Stalinism. I mean to say he underrated the pressures that would develop within Soviet society and would force even the Stalinist. . . group to bury Stalinism piecemeal.

COHEN: They buried Stalinism but they haven't buried bureaucracy surely?

DEUTSCHER: Oh they have very strongly curbed bureaucracy and they have done away with the excesses of bureaucracy, now let's understand what we mean by bureaucracy. By bureaucracy you mean the arbitrary rule of a dictatorial clique that sends people to concentration camps, and labor camps, that develops into a police state, that suppresses every dissent, by charging every dissenter as a foreign spy and an enemy of the people and so on and so on. Oh well obviously these aspects of the bureaucratic regime in Russia have either vanished or become very much softened.

COHEN: Well wouldn't you say sir, that may be just a temporary thing?

DEUTSCHER: No I don't think that is a temporary thing .". . I don't say (Soviet Premier) Khrushchov has completely altered. Khrushchov has been made to alter certain things, very often against his inclination.

COHEN: Well specifically.

DEUTSCHER: Oh specifically I think that in this whole de-Stalinization which had its climax at the 20th Congress, I think that Khrushchov acted under pressure from within the party, that he wasn't at all this — the man who was most ardent, most anxious, you know; to bury Stalinism.

COHEN: The thing I'm getting at, Mr. Deutscher, is this. While it may be true to say that the impetus and force for the kind of police bureaucracy that existed under Stalin has to a certain extent slackened, in point of fact what has happened today in the Soviet Union is the emergence of a new ruling class but as far as the movement toward a classless society or towards the disappearance of class inequities are concerned, this has not changed in any basic way.
(end)



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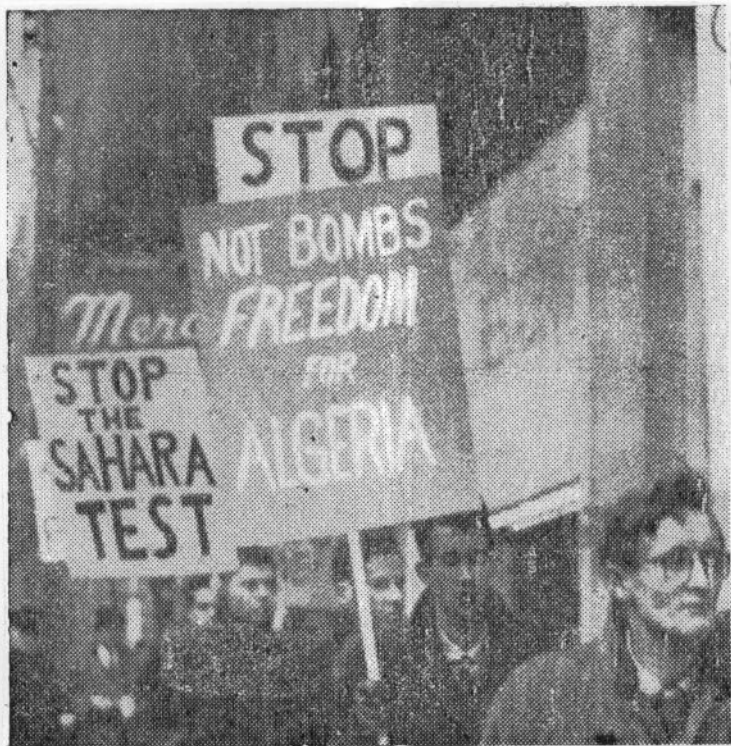
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Part of the world-wide protests against De Gaulle's explosion of A Bomb over the Sahara was this demonstration of some 40 Toronto youth in front of the French Consulate on Bay Street, Feb. 12. Participating were students from the U of T Socialist Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance. Amongst their placards was the demand that Canada withdraw from the De Gaulle-NATO Alliance.

#51 - Mar 1960

Fail To Project Real Alternative In

THE NEW-PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM

By PETER MILFORD

At last the program for the new party which was approved by the last Canadian Labor Congress and CCF conventions, and will be formally launched next year, is up for discussion. The joint CLC-CCF national committee has presented a proposed draft in the form of a pamphlet entitled **STUDY PAPER ON PROGRAM OF THE PROPOSED NEW POLITICAL PARTY**. Preparations are afoot across the country for conferences and seminars where the draft will be discussed.

At first glance some aspects of the draft program would appear to place the new party, for the present time at least, in a good fighting stance. For instance, the proposal to "refuse to permit nuclear weapons on Canadian soil or in the hands of our forces anywhere," and, that there be "a slashing reduction in defence expenditures as a step toward peace and to release funds urgently needed for economic aid abroad and for social progress at home." It calls for decent housing for all, with first emphasis on subsidized low rent housing, a comprehensive national health insurance plan, a Bill of Rights and for the abolition of the Senate.

But the draft program doesn't arm the new party for the slugging match into which it is going to be thrust against the hulking, wily, in-fighting Tory defenders of capitalism or the gang-up of Liberals and Social Crediters. A totally different strategy will be required to get through the enemies' shifty defences and capacities for maneuver, to deal the body blows that will win a knock out victory for labor.

This new labor party, which promises to mobil-

ize whole new layers of the Canadian working class into political struggle against capitalism; is being shoved into the ring by its present coaches not in any condition to do serious battle at all. An irreconcilable conflict is being presented as a bout that can be won with a little fancy footwork.

The Gaitskell leadership of the British Labor Party is preparing to cut clause 4 from the party's constitution which commits it to the struggle for a new society. If Coldwell, who in 1956 ripped the Regina Manifesto out of the CCF program, and his allies in the top hierarchy of the trade union apparatus succeed, the new party will be launched without any clause 4—with what is in effect a make-capitalism-work program—a program not for battle against but for peaceful coexistence with capitalism.

Top CLC publicist and former Ontario CCF secretary Morden Lazarus wrote in an article last year that was syndicated throughout the labor press and published in pamphlet form, that "Canada and most countries of the western world need a revolution—a revolution without violence and bloodshed—but a revolution nevertheless." But this program is not a revolutionary program designed to meet the need for vast and fundamental change and to project a new and inspiring course before the working people

The preamble to the proposed program hints at and tips its hat to the problems confronting us. It points to the enormous possibilities of nuclear energy, but which "at the moment is a threat to human survival." It notes the vast

See COMMENTS ON—page 2

COMMENTS ON PROPOSAL

(Continued from page 1)

promise of automation, but which in actuality "involves the danger of widespread dislocation of workers." The colossal advances being marked up by the planned economies of the Soviet Union and China, but which it sees as affecting "our export trade" and "our relations with the uncommitted nations." It notes that "unemployment is still with us and so is the business cycle."

But when it comes to **THE PLAN FOR AUTOMATION** the proposed program says nothing about meeting the resultant unemployment or seeing to it that the benefits go to the workers through a shorter work week with the same take home pay. To find a hub for its **POLICY FOR PEACE**, for instance, the committee rifled Liberal leader Pearson's files to pull "a strong United Nations with a permanent international force under its control." But the UN, the record shows, has served no purpose other than what the big powers desire it to—and so far the interests of the US State Department.

After touching upon the various symptoms of the disease that is shot through Canadian society, and is beginning to throw it into fever, neither the preamble nor the program so much as hint at, let alone name, the disease. Failing to designate the cause of the trouble—capitalism—it is not at all surprising that the program as outlined turns out to be not a cure but by and large the familiar pattern of generalities and patch-work proposals to help us adapt ourselves to the disease—to make capitalism more tolerable.

While it characterizes the Liberals and Conservatives as parties "which stand and act for Big Business" the draft doesn't present the new party as standing and acting for the working class. There is only one passing reference to the most significant conflict in North America—the drive to housebreak, to smash the trade union movement. What is presented as pointing up the great need for the new party is not so much the anti-labor drive, unemployment, the housing shortage, or Canada's continued support of the NATO war alliance—in a few words the conflict between labor's interest and capital's interests on the national and international arena. It's the threat of communist competition! The achievements of the planned economy of the Soviet Union, the conquests of the Chinese revolution, instead of an inspiration, are presented as a threat that should

The Regina Manifesto

We believe that these evils (insecurity, monopoly control, crises, inequality, poverty, waste and instability) can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

Adopted at CCF Founding Convention, 1933

unite the nation to meet and repel.

Quite correctly the draft places to the fore the question of planning "to achieve economic democracy at home" and to which they apparently cannot help but add "and to meet increasing competition abroad."

But what type of planning does the draft project, to bring order out of the developing chaos in Canadian economy for which the working class pay so heavily? Not nationalization, not public ownership of any specified sector of the economy, neither steel, farm implement industry, the CPR, the financial institutions. There is one vague non-committal line which reads "Extension of public ownership where necessary to economic planning or to break the power of private monopoly." Where necessary??

Even this is hurriedly buttressed by the next line which assures that the labor party shoulders equally with the capitalist parties the responsibility to see that there is "opportunity for private business and industry to function properly and to make a fair rate of return." And what is a fair rate of return?

But the Canadian economy is not without planning now. With the scrapping of the Arrow and the closing of its Nova Scotia mines and mills, A. V. Roe never lost a cent. Rio Tinto is suffering in no way through the collapse of Elliot Lake other than that the possibility for further profits in this area have been closed to it. The Liberals, Social Credit and Conservatives have set up no end of boards, commissions, and agencies of all sorts, to control and plan the economy. They have placed the vast natural wealth of the country and its public purse, the laws, the courts, everything, at the disposal of the boards, commissions, etc. They have nationalized certain sectors of the economy and in many areas encouraged co-ops. There is

NEW PARTY PROGRAM

only one limiting condition to this planning. It must serve the interests of capital.

If there is stagnation, in whole areas of the economy, unemployment, anarchy and waste, it is not through lack of planning. If there are monopolies that wipe out thousands of small enterprises, it's not through any lack of laws.

The detailed schema outlined by the program on public planning means nothing because it sets itself no objective other than the type we already know. Without nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, without public ownership, there is no way of effective intervention against the operation of the laws that govern capitalist development, there is no way of planning the economy of Canada in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

It is idle to talk about economic democracy via public agencies and not project a program of public ownership, industrial democracy, democratic participation and control by the working people over the conditions and operations of the shops in which they spend half their waking hours. It is idle to talk about ethical objectives, "human dignity," "values based on human worth," which are given as the aims of the party, without preparing to change the material base from which flow the present immoralities—without eliminating capitalist ownership and production for profit, and laying down the foundations for co-operative labor, production, not for profit, but for use. It is downright deception to talk about the need for economic democracy and for the abolition of social inequality, and merely project a program of redistribution of wealth through taxation.

This section of the draft dealing with planning is not an unimportant matter which can be ignored in a fight to implement some of the immediate demands. This section outlines the guiding philosophy of the whole program, gives the program its tone and sets the framework within which the demands are posed. If at this time assuring capital a fair rate of return makes the party more acceptable to certain layers of the population, at the same time it must be conceded it removes from the party a considerable amount of its reason to be, making it little different, depending on the circumstances and the demagogy of its opponents, from the declared aims of the old line parties of Big Business.

Canada's socialists must fight to write a clause in the program of the labor party. Even should

Worth Remembering...

From the Canadian edition of *THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM* by Fred Henderson—sponsored by the Ontario Section of the CCF, 1944.

"We do not come into politics as a third party in the ordinary sense of desiring to take our share in the carrying on of the existing social order. We do not believe in the existing social order. We come in as revolutionists with the revolutionary purpose of substituting collective for individual ownership of the means of work as the principle of national and social organization.

"What social revolution means is neither Armageddon nor the mere shouting of impossibilist formulae in politics. It means a purpose of fundamental change as against the mere purpose of patching up within the existing order . . ."

they fail, the discussion and struggle for a socialist program will lay the grounds, in the light of new experiences and under changed circumstances, for serious anti-capitalist struggle and the socialist resolution, the only resolution of the crisis that capitalism is preparing for the working class.

The new labor party, based as it will be on the trade unions, opens up an entirely new perspective for the left. Insofar as can be ascertained at this time, it is within the new labor party that the forces for the Canadian socialist revolution will be prepared—it will be there that the struggle for a new leadership of the working class will be fought out.

The socialists must fight, not as Communist Party national organizer Leslie Morris urges "to unite all the varied elements into one great reform party" but, as loyal members of the party, fight for the supremacy of their ideas—for a socialist party. Contrary to Morris' loose talk about "left" socialists who may or likely will at some point organize their own political party, especially if the CCF goes out of business next August," the socialists must unite their forces in the labor party. They must seek to establish their forces, such as the Socialist Educational League, as the socialist wing of the new labor party.

Fail to Project Real Alternative in **THE NEW-PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM (1)**

(From Workers' Vanguard, March 1960)

By PETER MILFORD *(probably Ross Dowson pseudonym--ed.)*

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But the draft program doesn't arm the new party for the slugging match into which it is going to be thrust against the hulking, wily, in-fighting Tory defenders of capitalism or the gang-up of Liberals and Social Crediters (*right-wing monetarist current in the West and Quebec --ed.*). A totally different strategy will be required to get through the enemies' shifty defences and capacities for maneuver, to deal the body blows that will win a knockout victory for labor.

This new labor party, which promises to mobilize whole new layers of the Canadian working class into political struggle against capitalism, is being shoved into the ring by its present coaches not in any condition to do serious battle at all. An irreconcilable conflict is being presented as a bout that can be won with a little fancy footwork.

The Gaitskell leadership of the British Labour Party is preparing to cut clause 4 from the party's constitution which commits it to the struggle for a new society. If (*ex-CCF leader*) Coldwell, who in 1956 ripped the "Regina Manifesto" out of the CCF program, and his allies in the top hierarchy of the trade union apparatus succeed, the new party will be launched without any clause 4 — with what is in effect a make-capitalism-work program — a program not for battle against but for peaceful coexistence with capitalism.

Top CLC publicist and former Ontario CCF secretary Morden Lazarus wrote in an article last year that was syndicated throughout the labor press and published in pamphlet form, that "Canada and most countries of the western world need a revolution — a revolution without violence and bloodshed — but a revolution nevertheless." But this program is not a revolutionary program designed to meet the need for vast and fundamental change and to project a new and inspiring course before the working people.

The preamble to the proposed program hints at and tips its hat to the problems confronting us. It points to the enormous possibilities of nuclear energy, but which "at the moment is a threat to human survival." It notes the vast promise of automation, but which in actuality "involves the danger of widespread dislocation of workers." Colossal advances are being marked up by the planned economies of the Soviet Union and China – but which it (*the preamble*) sees as affecting "our export trade" and "our relations with the uncommitted nations." It notes that "unemployment is still with us and so is the business cycle."

But when it comes to THE PLAN FOR AUTOMATION the proposed program says nothing about meeting the resultant unemployment or seeing to it that the benefits go to the workers through a shorter work week with the same take home pay. To find a hub for its POLICY FOR PEACE, for instance, the committee rifled Liberal leader Pearson's files to pull "a strong United Nations with a permanent international force under its control." But the UN, the record shows, has served no purpose other than what the big powers desire it to — and so far the interests of the US State Department.

After touching upon the various symptoms of the disease that is shot through Canadian society, and is beginning to throw it into fever, neither the preamble nor the program so much as hint at, let alone name, the disease. Failing to designate the cause of the trouble — capitalism — it is not at all surprising that the program as outlined turns out to be not a cure but by and large the familiar pattern of generalities and patch-work proposals to help us adapt ourselves to the disease — to make capitalism more tolerable.

While it characterizes the Liberals and Conservatives as parties "which stand and act for Big Business" the draft doesn't present the new party as standing and acting for the working class. There is only one passing reference to the most significant conflict in North America — the drive to housebreak, to smash the trade union movement. What is presented as pointing up the great need for the new party is not so much the anti-labor drive, unemployment, the housing shortage, or Canada's continued support of the NATO war alliance — in a few words the conflict between labor's interest and capital's interests on the national and international arena. It's the threat of communist competition! The achievements of the planned economy of the Soviet Union, the conquests of the Chinese revolution, instead of an inspiration, are presented as a threat that should unite the nation to meet and repel.

===BOX===

The Regina Manifesto

"We believe that these evils (insecurity, monopoly control, crises; inequality, poverty, waste and instability) can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people." *Adopted at CCF Founding Convention, 1933*

===END BOX ==

Quite correctly the draft places to the fore the question of planning "to achieve economic democracy at home" and to which, they apparently cannot help but add "and to meet increasing competition abroad."

But what type of planning does the draft project, to bring order out of the developing chaos in the Canadian economy for which the working class pays so heavily? Not nationalization, not public ownership of any specified sector of the economy: neither steel, the farm implement industry, the CPR (national rail network), the financial institutions. There is one vague non-committal line which reads: "Extension of public ownership where necessary to economic planning or to break the power of private monopoly." Where necessary??

Even this is hurriedly buttressed by the next line which assures that the labor party shoulders equally with the capitalist parties the responsibility to see that there is "opportunity for private business and industry to function properly and to make a fair rate of return." And what is a fair rate of return?

But the Canadian economy is not without planning now. With the scrapping of the Arrow (*Canadian-designed and built supersonic fighter shut down by Diefenbaker --ed.*) and the closing of its Nova Scotia mines and mills, A. V. Roe never lost a cent. Rio Tinto is suffering in no way through the collapse of Elliot Lake (*uranium mine*) other than that the possibility for further profits in this area that have been closed to it. The Liberals, Social Credit and Conservatives have set up no end of boards, commissions, and agencies of all sorts to control and plan the economy. They have placed the vast natural wealth of the country and its public purse, the laws, the courts, everything, at the disposal of the boards, commissions, etc. They have nationalized certain sectors of the economy and in many areas have encouraged co-ops. There is only one limiting condition to this planning. It must serve the interests of capital.

If there is stagnation, in whole areas of the economy, unemployment, anarchy and waste, it is not through lack of planning. If there are monopolies that wipe out thousands of small enterprises, it's not through any lack of laws.

The detailed schema outlined by the program on public planning means nothing because it sets itself no objective other than the type we already know. Without nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, without public ownership, there is no way of effective intervention against the operation of the laws that govern capitalist development, there is no way of planning the economy of Canada in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population.

It is idle to talk about economic democracy via public agencies and not project a program of public ownership, industrial democracy, democratic participation-and control by the working people over the conditions and operations of the shops in which they spend half their waking hours. It is idle to talk about ethical objectives, "human dignity," "values based on human worth," which are given as the aims of the party, without preparing to change the material base from which flow the present immoralities — without eliminating capitalist ownership and production for profit, and laying down the foundations for co-operative labor, production, not for profit, but for use. It is downright deception to talk about the need for economic democracy and

for the abolition of social inequality, and merely project a program of redistribution of wealth through taxation.

This section of the draft dealing with planning is not an unimportant matter which can be ignored in a fight to implement some of the immediate demands. This section outlines the guiding philosophy of the whole program, gives the program its tone and sets the framework within which the demands are posed. If at this time assuring capitals fair rate of return makes the party more acceptable to certain layers of the population, at the same time it must be conceded it removes from the party a considerable amount of its reason to be, making it little different, depending on the circumstances and the demagogy of its opponents, from the declared aims of the old line parties of Big Business.

Canada's socialists must fight to write a clause in the program of the labor party. Even should

====BOX====

Worth Remembering...

From the Canadian edition of THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM by Fred Henderson — sponsored by the Ontario Section of the CCF, 1944*

"We do not come into politics as a third party in the ordinary sense of desiring to take our share in the carrying on of the existing social order. We do not believe in the existing social order. We come in as revolutionists with the revolutionary purpose of substituting collective for individual ownership of the means of work as the principle of national and social organization.

"What social revolution means is neither Armageddon nor the mere shouting of impossibilist formulae in politics. It means a purpose of fundamental change as against the mere purpose of patching up within the existing order ..."

*(*Fred Henderson is remembered by Cliff Orchard as a short, rugged Toronto worker-militant, member of the S.E.L. who was one of about 15 members of the CCF expelled in the 1950s --ed.)*

====END BOX====

they fail, the discussion and struggle for a socialist program will lay the grounds, in the light of new experiences and under changed circumstances, for serious anti-capitalist struggle and the socialist resolution, the only resolution of the crisis that capitalism is preparing for the working class.

The new labor party, based as it will be on the trade unions, opens up an entirely new perspective for the left. Insofar as can be ascertained at this time, it is within the new labor party that the forces for the Canadian socialist revolution will be prepared — it will be there that the struggle for a new leadership of the working class will be fought out.

The socialists must fight, not as Communist Party national organizer Leslie Morris urges "to unite all the varied elements into one great reform party" but, as loyal members of the party, fight

for the supremacy of their ideas — for a socialist party. Contrary to Morris' loose talk about “left' socialists who may or likely will at some point organize their own political party, especially if the CCF goes out of business next August," the socialists must unite their forces in the labor party. They must seek to establish their forces, such as the Socialist Educational League, as the socialist wing of the new labor party.

The Workers **Vanquard**

#52-Mid-Mar 1960

Why Public Ownership Should Be Written Into THE NEW-PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM

By PETER MILFORD

The debate over the program for the new labor party is on. When he officially unveiled the joint CLC-CCF national committee's proposal of what the program should be, to the Ontario Federation of Labor's educational conference last month, David Lewis laid down the arguments with which the trade union brass and the right wing of the CCF hope to defeat those who want to see public ownership and the perspective of a socialist society written into the new party program.

Lewis and his associates come well armed for their task. For years, behind the backs of the CCF membership, they trampled all over the socialist principles that had been written into the CCF's founding program, The Regina Manifesto. And in 1956 at Winnipeg they came out into the open to formally wipe them out by jamming through in what has been called the Winnipeg Declaration.

Lewis' statements to the OFL against nationalization were said with such finality as to provoke chairman of the Manitoba CCF, Al Mackling, to protest that "I am sure it cannot have been Mr. Lewis' intention to indicate that so important a matter as the role of public ownership of industry under the new party's program has been definitely established. Discussion is only now about to commence . . . this matter is of such fundamental importance that I feel it necessary to point out that this whole question will only be determined by a founding convention of the proposed new party."

As vigorous partisans of the new labor party, in our last issue we presented our general analysis of the proposed program. We characterized it, despite its many good aspects, to be essentially a

peaceful-coexistence-with-capitalism, a make-capitalism-work program. We urged that a clause similar to clause 4 in the British Labor Party constitution, which Gaitskell is even now attempting to remove, should be written into the Canadian labor party program. With this issue we hope to provide union militants in the CLC and socialists in the CCF with material which will prove useful in the debate to assure that the new party will have written into its program the nationalization of the basic means of production which will provide the material foundations for the development of a socialist Canada.

Question—Isn't public ownership part of the old baggage of the labor and socialist movement which is now faced with a new and living reality? Hasn't nationalization become a dogma, an empty shibboleth?

The concept of nationalization of the basic means of production developed as the socialist movement grew up from infantilism, from utopian day-dreamings and futile strivings of individuals, into a movement based on the working class and armed with a scientific analysis of the capitalist system which it is destined to replace.

What is new and what changes are socialists required to make in their doctrine? Is the class struggle dead, as CCF national leader Coldwell has declared? Is capitalism no longer a system of crisis—of boom and bust? Is capitalism something that can be regulated and controlled, as British laborite Crossman claimed at Winnipeg? A tolerable system?

Since these observations were made the class
See WHY NATIONALIZATION—page 2



David Lewis presented new party program

WHY NATIONALIZATION

(Continued from page 1)

struggle burst out in all its viciousness on the east and west coasts. Smallwood's Liberal government destroyed the Newfoundland woodworkers union. The Social Credit government clamped Bill 43 down on the BC labor movement. After speculating on the possibilities that nuclear energy holds out to mankind, but noting the reality—that civilization is imperilled, the promises of leisure—but the actual threat of dislocation through the application of automation, the draft program observes that "unemployment is still with us (now plaguing over 13 per cent of the work force) and so is the business cycle."

What is new and what changes are required? It would seem that we need nothing so much as a new leadership—one that is armed with a theory, that doesn't seek to adapt to every episodic development, that doesn't capitulate to capitalist pressures. This is not to say that capitalism has not undergone changes. But the concept that the social-analysis has proven false, that capitalism can be made to work, and that socialism is merely an ethical and moral concept—that is not new. It is old stuff indeed—a remnant of the pre-Owenite socialism of the early 1800's.

WHY WRITE IT IN?

Question—Why should the new party have a clause 4, or a statement such as the Regina Manifesto contained, written into its program?

Were the new party to adopt the outline proposed by the CLC-CCF committee as it stands, the party will not be basically different from the capitalist parties in its theoretical, in its essential programmatic foundations. While the party starts off with a powerful working class base, and while a correct theory doesn't guarantee a correct practice, theory, history tells us, is extremely important.

The new party program says nothing that the boss parties, when they find it necessary, cannot say just as well and much louder. The program should clearly define the party as a class party, as a party of the working people—not only as the militant defender of their interests but one that projects the possibility and the necessity of fundamental change, as against the mere patching up of the existing order.

With the dumping of the Regina Manifesto the CCF lost its reason to be. The CCF became in reality indistinguishable from the old line parties which of course are also for reforms, and in contrast with the Tories in the last federal election appeared much less dynamic and with less possibilities of winning office. As against a program of fundamental social change, the CCF leadership attempts, in keeping with its concept that socialism is a moral and ethical idea, to parade as having a

monopoly on virtue. It presents its Tory and Liberal opponents, not as defenders of private ownership of the means of production, but as crooks and grafters.

To be sure a great immorality pervades capitalism, and its political spokesmen when not defending nepotism and corruption, or apologizing for it, keep their silence. But it is spawned by the capitalist system itself and on occasion has been known to rub off onto various one-time opponents of the system. A new, a higher morality is only possible through the elimination of the material base, the soil from which capitalist immorality springs. Through public ownership and a national plan, the capitalist fetters on production will be torn aside and the realization of the material, social and cultural needs of all will be possible. Only then, with the disappearance of class antagonisms, will men be able to establish a truly humane relationship with one another.

We are for the nationalization of the key, the strategic, the controlling sectors of the economy. To raise the question of the small corner grocery store and the working farmer is to drag in a red herring. Such a nationalization policy is not just another tool or just a means among many others, as Gaitskell and David Lewis claim. It is the essential tool—the means whereby man will be able to intelligently plan production on the basis of social need. No one has been able to devise any substitute.

HASN'T IT FAILED?

Question—Will public ownership work? What about the CNR? Doesn't the experience of the British Labor Party prove the impracticability of nationalization?

The capitalist class themselves have utilized public ownership—TCA, CBC, the CNR, the post office, the Ontario Hydro Electric System. They resort to public ownership in the interests of capitalism. The CNR was set up to rescue bankrupt speculators with the aid of the public treasury. Hydro, the post office, water distribution, education, to prevent waste and inefficiency that would result from competition between contending capitalist interests against the interests of the capitalists themselves and the functioning of the system as a whole.

CBC and TCA, having pioneered the development of their respective fields are now being stripped bare of the profitable areas in the interest of capitalism. While capitalism favors nationalization of certain sectors of the economy in the interests of a more profitable exploitation of the main sectors of the economy—even these experiences, permeated as they are with the capitalist purpose, prove the superiority of this economic form.

The British Labor Party experience with nationalization in no way invalidates the principle of

NEW PARTY PROGRAM?

public ownership. First, the labor government nationalized not the basic, the controlling sectors of the economy but a mere 20 per cent. To top it off, the main efforts such as coal, involved the most bankrupt industries.

This resulted in the coal interests being given the opportunity to rescue their capital from this area and invest it in more profitable sectors. Thus the system actually got a new lease on life. The coal board, appointed to operate the industry, is composed almost in its entirety of the former owners. The control and management of the mines so far as the workers in the industry are concerned, has taken on no new character, and a vital element in planning and developing the economy—workers' control—has been blocked.

ISN'T IT DANGEROUS?

Question—Won't public ownership lead to totalitarianism?

The elimination of waste and inefficiency that comes with capitalist ownership; planning for use and not for profit; the elimination of booms and busts, are aims of nationalization. But there is another aim and it is by no means an incidental one as the reformists and Stalinists suggest. That is—the establishment of a meaningful democracy—industrial democracy. There is no real democracy where the people have no control of the means whereby they live.

Socialization will give jobs to those who have been deprived of this elementary democratic right. It will bring into play all the skill and ingenuity of the workers who now can either do what they are told by management or quit; who under capitalism have no interest in production. With the knowledge that efficiency and increased production will not merely result in higher profits for the boss or perhaps layoffs, but more of the good things of life for all, leisure for cultural development—an entire new horizon opens up for mankind.

The bureaucratic parasitic regime that feeds on the planned economy of the Soviet Union, that has politically expropriated the workers and deprives them of any participation in the plan, did not arise from anything inherent in nationalization. The bureaucracy arose from the backwardness inherited by the revolution, the persistent and brutal attempts of world capitalism to crush the young workers republic and its longtime isolation.

The incredible achievements of the Soviet economy since World War II and its unprecedented rate of growth owe nothing to the bureaucracy which in fact impedes its development. It is entirely attributable to its nationalized economy and is a brilliant and practical verification of the socialist thesis. At the same time it is thrusting the masses into struggles that will result in the overthrow of the

bureaucracy and the establishment of Soviet democracy.

WON'T IT LOSE US SUPPORT?

Question—Won't we be marching alone; with a program of nationalization, as Saskatchewan CCF leader Douglas said at Winnipeg?

In order to implement its program the party must have power—it must have massive support among the people: It must certainly take into account the psychology of the masses. But it is not a matter of sniffing around to find a formula, to find an idea, a gimmick with which it can hope to be elected. It would appear that Diefenbaker found the happy formula in recent elections and if our purpose could be served by getting elected by hook or by crook, there would be no simpler solution than to plagiarize from or even join the Tories. The labor party is to carry out the will of the working people—not manipulate their will in the interest of some clique or, as with the Tories—in the interests of capitalist ruling circles. It needs the support of the overwhelming majority in order to bring its program into effect.

The program of the labor party must be based on a scientific analysis of the real situation confronting the Canadian people. The development of the program must stem from the results of this analysis. Since the party must win the support of the working people it must intelligently apply this program.

The adoption of a program of public ownership won't mean the neglect of other problems of the day-to-day struggle. Unlike the CCF which has deteriorated into an electoral machine, the new party must participate in all the struggles of the working people, winning every partial gain possible, consolidating their ranks, developing their consciousness in the direction of understanding the concept that underpins everything else—that the property relations must be changed from a private to a social form.

Public ownership is not THE program—although it is becoming an ever more important immediate demand to meet such crises as have developed at Elliot Lake and confront workers in the NS coal industry and the textile industry. The labor party will have its say on ALL the issues of the day.

But it is wrong to suggest that the concept of nationalization is now, and it is even more false to suggest it will always be, an anathema to the Canadian people. Did the dumping of nationalization project the CCF forward? On the contrary—not only did it demoralize the cadre but the party continued to decline electorally. The CCF has polled a considerably lower percentage of the vote than the number of persons who have from time to time expressed favor of nationalization in Gallup polls.

\$2,000 Needed by May 15 In Vanguard Press Fund

By JEFF FAULKNER

When spring hits the VANGUARD office, we like to survey our past gains and make plans for the future. And so we're announcing our annual financial drive at this time. It opens March 15 and the goal is two thousand dollars by May 15. We need the money to keep the presses roiling, to send out your copy each month and to enable us to move forward. We call on you to contribute now.

So while you're thinking about the size of your contribution, how soon you can send it in (and perhaps considering whom among your friends you can tackle for a donation), we'd like to say why we believe the socialist press is so important.

The bulk of the press in our capitalist society is dominated by the interests with which the publishers are allied—that is the capitalist class. The Vanguard, amidst a sea of distortion, lies and omissions of the capitalist press, sets itself the task of showing the economic forces behind major developments, the class relationships, and finding the steps by which the

working class and its allies can get out of the capitalist impasse.

Which brings us to the second point. Lately, the main activity of the paper has been the initiation of the fight, in print, for the adoption by the new labor party of a class struggle program, in opposition to the CCF and trade union brass who are trying to foist off a make-capitalism-work program. This question is of vital concern to everyone who seeks to solve the problem of a decaying social order through the institution of a labor-farmer government.

To readers like yourself, the VANGUARD will be invaluable as a medium through which Left-wing elements in CCF clubs and trade union PEC's across Canada can organize, discuss and fight for a socialist policy for the labor party.

Finally, the paper is going with us on our national tour this summer, where we'll be using it to re-establish old contacts and to draw new participants into the political arena.

The press is the muscle and bone of the revolutionary socialist movement. It is crucial, above all with the development of the new labor party, to keep the Vanguard coming out and to broaden its influence. The only way we can do this is through your support.

This is not a special appeal on top of last fall's campaign. The Vanguard annual drive, starting now, will be held in the spring of each year. So send your contributions to . . .

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#52-Mar. 1960

Why Public Ownership Should be Written Into THE NEW-PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM (2)

(From Workers' Vanguard, March 1960)

By PETER MILFORD *(probably Ross Dowson pseudonym--ed.)*

The debate over the program for the new labor party is on. When he officially unveiled the joint CLC-CCF* national committee's proposal of what the program should be, to the Ontario Federation of Labour's educational conference last month, David Lewis laid down the arguments with which the trade union brass and the right wing of the CCF hope to defeat those who want to see public ownership and the perspective of a socialist society written into the new party program. (**Canadian Labour Congress -- Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP --ed.*)

Lewis and his associates come well armed for their task. For years, behind the backs of the CCF membership, they trampled all over the socialist principles that had been written into the CCF's founding program, "The Regina Manifesto." And in 1956 at Winnipeg they came out into the open to formally wipe them out by jamming through what has been called the "Winnipeg Declaration."

Lewis' statements to the OFL (*Ontario Federation of Labour, CLC affiliate*) against nationalization were said with such finality as to provoke chairman of the Manitoba CCF, Al Mackling, to protest that "I am sure it cannot have been Mr. Lewis' intention to indicate that so important a matter as the role of public ownership of industry under the new party's program has been definitely established. Discussion is only now about to commence . . . this matter is of such fundamental importance that I feel it necessary to point out that this whole question will only be determined by a founding convention of the proposed new party."

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Question—Isn't public ownership part of the old baggage of the labor and socialist movement which is now faced with a new and living reality? Hasn't nationalization become a dogma, an empty shibboleth (*sacred cow*)?

The concept of nationalization of the basic means of production developed as the socialist movement grew up from infantilism, from Utopian day-dreaming and futile strivings of individuals, into a movement based on the working class and armed with a scientific analysis of the capitalist system which it is destined to replace.

What is new and what changes are socialists required to make in their doctrine? Is the class struggle dead, as CCF national leader Coldwell has declared? Is capitalism no longer a system of crisis — of boom and bust? Is capitalism something that can be regulated and controlled, as British laborite Crossman claimed at Winnipeg? A tolerable system?

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We are for the nationalization of the key, the strategic, the controlling sectors of the economy. To raise the question of the small corner grocery store and the working farmer is to drag in a red herring (*misleading, scare tactics* --ed.). Such a nationalization policy is not just another tool or just a means among many others, as Gaitskell and David Lewis claim. It is the essential tool — the means whereby man will be able to intelligently plan production on the basis of social need. No one has been able to devise any substitutes.

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Question — Will public ownership work? What about the CNR? Doesn't the experience of the British Labor Party prove the impracticability of nationalization?

The capitalist class themselves have utilized public ownership — TCA (*now privatized as Air Canada* --ed.), CBC, the CNR (*also privatized*) --ed.), the post office, the Ontario Hydro Electric System *suffering ongoing privatization* --ed.) They resort to public ownership in the interests of capitalism. The CNR was set up to rescue bankrupt speculators with the aid of the public treasury. Hydro, the post office, water distribution, education, to prevent waste and inefficiency that would result from competition between contending capitalist interests against the interests of the capitalists themselves and the functioning of the system as a whole.

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The British Labour Party experience with nationalization in no way invalidates the principle of public ownership. First, the labor government nationalized not the basic, the controlling sectors of economy but a mere 20 per cent. To top it off, the main efforts such as coal, involved the most bankrupt industries.

This resulted in the coal interests being given the opportunity to rescue their capital from this area and invest it in more profitable sectors. Thus the system actually got a new lease on life. The coal board, appointed to operate the industry, is composed almost in its entirety of the former owners. The control and management of the mines so far as the workers in

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The elimination of waste and inefficiency that comes with capitalist ownership; planning for use and not for profit; the elimination of booms and busts, are aims of nationalization. But there is another aim and it is by no means an incidental one the reformists and Stalinists suggest. That is — the establishment of a meaningful democracy — industrial democracy. There is no real democracy where the people have no control of the means whereby they live.

Socialization will give jobs to those who have been deprived of this elementary democratic right. It will bring into play all the skill and ingenuity of the workers who now can either do what they told by management or quit; who under capitalism have no interest in production. With the knowledge that efficiency and increased production will not merely result in higher profits for the boss or perhaps layoffs, but more of the good things of life for all, leisure for cultural development — an entire new horizon opens up for mankind.

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Question — Won't we be marching alone, with a program of nationalization, as Saskatchewan CCF leader Douglas said at Winnipeg?

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The program of the labor party must be based on a scientific analysis of the real situation confronting the Canadian people. The development of the program must stem from the results of this analysis. Since the party must win the support of the working people it must intelligently apply this program.

The adoption of a program of public ownership won't mean the neglect of other problems of the day-to-day struggle. Unlike the CCF which has deteriorated into an electoral machine, the new party must participate in all the struggles of the working people, winning every partial gain possible, consolidating their ranks, developing their consciousness in the direction of understanding the concept that underpins everything else — that the property relations must be changed from a private to a social form.

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Why Public Ownership Should be Written Into THE NEW-PARTY DRAFT PROGRAM (2)

(From Workers' Vanguard, March 1960)

By PETER MILFORD *(probably Ross Dowson pseudonym--ed.)*

The debate over the program for the new labor party is on. When he officially unveiled the joint CLC-CCF* national committee's proposal of what the program should be, to the Ontario Federation of Labour's educational conference last month, David Lewis laid down the arguments with which the trade union brass and the right wing of the CCF hope to defeat those who want to see public ownership and the perspective of a socialist society written into the new party program. (**Canadian Labour Congress -- Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP --ed.*)

Lewis and his associates come well armed for their task. For years, behind the backs of the CCF membership, they trampled all over the socialist principles that had been written into the CCF's founding program, "The Regina Manifesto." And in 1956 at Winnipeg they came out into the open to formally wipe them out by jamming through what has been called the "Winnipeg Declaration."

Lewis' statements to the OFL (*Ontario Federation of Labour, CLC affiliate*) against nationalization were said with such finality as to provoke chairman of the Manitoba CCF, Al Mackling, to protest that "I am sure it cannot have been Mr. Lewis' intention to indicate that so important a matter as the role of public ownership of industry under the new party's program has been definitely established. Discussion is only now about to commence . . . this matter is of such fundamental importance that I feel it necessary to point out that this whole question will only be determined by a founding convention of the proposed new party."

As vigorous partisans of the new labor party, in our last issue we presented our general analysis of the proposed program. We characterized it, despite its many good aspects, to be essentially a peaceful-coexistence-with-capitalism, a make-capitalism-work program. We urged that a clause similar to clause 4 in the British Labour Party constitution, which Gaitskell is even now attempting to remove, should be written into the Canadian labor party program. With this issue we hope to provide union militants in the CLC and socialists in the CCF with material which will prove useful in the debate to assure that the new party will have written into its program the nationalization of the basic means of production which will provide the material foundations for the development of a socialist Canada.

Question—Isn't public ownership part of the old baggage of the labor and socialist movement which is now faced with a new and living reality? Hasn't nationalization become a dogma, an empty shibboleth (*sacred cow*)?

The concept of nationalization of the basic means of production developed as the socialist movement grew up from infantilism, from Utopian day-dreaming and futile strivings of individuals, into a movement based on the working class and armed with a scientific analysis of the capitalist system which it is destined to replace.

What is new and what changes are socialists required to make in their doctrine? Is the class struggle dead, as CCF national leader Coldwell has declared? Is capitalism no longer a system of crisis — of boom and bust? Is capitalism something that can be regulated and controlled, as British laborite Crossman claimed at Winnipeg? A tolerable system?

Since these observations were made the class struggle burst out in all its viciousness on the east and west coasts. Smallwood's Liberal government destroyed the Newfoundland woodworkers union. The Social Credit government clamped Bill 43 down on the BC labor movement. After speculating on the possibilities that nuclear energy holds out to mankind, but noting the reality — that civilization is imperiled, the promises of leisure —but the actual threat of dislocation through the application of automation, the draft program observes that "unemployment is still with us (now plaguing over 13 per cent of the work force) and so is the business cycle."

What is new and what changes are required? It would seem that we need nothing so much as a new leadership — one that is armed with a theory, that doesn't seek to adapt to every episodic development, that doesn't capitulate to capitalist pressures. This is not to say that capitalism has not undergone changes. But the concept that the socialist analysis has proven false, that capitalism can be made to work, and that socialism is merely an ethical and moral concept — that is not new. It is old stuff indeed — a remnant of the pre-Owenite socialism of the early 1800's.

WHY WRITE IT IN?

Question — Why should the new party have a clause 4, or a statement such as the “Regina Manifesto” contained, written into its program?

Were the new party to adopt the outline proposed by the CLC-CCF committee as it stands, the party will not be basically different from the capitalist parties in its theoretical, in its essential programmatic foundations. While the party starts off with a powerful working class base, and while a correct theory doesn't guarantee a correct practice, theory, history tells us, is extremely important.

The new party program says nothing that the boss parties, when they find it necessary, cannot say just as well and much louder. The program should clearly define the party as a class party, as a party of the working people — not only as the militant defender of their interests but one that projects the possibility and the necessity of fundamental change, as against the mere patching up of the existing order.

With the dumping of the “Regina Manifesto” the CCF lost its reason to be. The CCF became in reality indistinguishable from the old line parties which of course are also for reforms, and in contrast with the Tories in the last federal election appeared much less dynamic and with less possibilities of winning office. As against a program of fundamental social change, the CCF leadership attempts, in keeping with its concept that socialism is a moral and ethical idea, to parade as having a monopoly on virtue. It presents its Tory and Liberal opponents, not as defenders of private ownership of the means of production, but as crooks and grafters.

To be sure a great immorality pervades capitalism, and its political spokesmen when not defending nepotism and corruption, or apologizing for it, keep their silence. But it is spawned by the capitalist system itself and on occasion has been known to rub off onto various one-time opponents of the system. A new, a higher morality is only possible through the elimination of the material base, the soil from which capitalist immorality springs. Through public ownership and a national plan, the capitalist fetters on production will be torn aside and the realization of the material, social and cultural needs of all will be possible. Only then, with the disappearance of class antagonisms, will men be able to establish a truly humane relationship with one another.

We are for the nationalization of the key, the strategic, the controlling sectors of the economy. To raise the question of the small corner grocery store and the working farmer is to drag in a red herring (*misleading, scare tactics* --ed.). Such a nationalization policy is not just another tool or just a means among many others, as Gaitskell and David Lewis claim. It is the essential tool — the means whereby man will be able to intelligently plan production on the basis of social need. No one has been able to devise any substitutes.

HASN'T IT FAILED?

Question — Will public ownership work? What about the CNR? Doesn't the experience of the British Labor Party prove the impracticability of nationalization?

The capitalist class themselves have utilized public ownership — TCA (*now privatized as Air Canada* --ed.), CBC, the CNR (*also privatized*) --ed.), the post office, the Ontario Hydro Electric System *suffering ongoing privatization* --ed.) They resort to public ownership in the interests of capitalism. The CNR was set up to rescue bankrupt speculators with the aid of the public treasury. Hydro, the post office, water distribution, education, to prevent waste and inefficiency that would result from competition between contending capitalist interests against the interests of the capitalists themselves and the functioning of the system as a whole.

CBC and TCA, having pioneered the development of their respective fields are now being stripped bare of the profitable areas in the interest of capitalism. While capitalism favors nationalization of certain sectors of the economy in the interests, of a more profitable exploitation of the main sectors of the economy — even these experiences, permeated as they are with the capitalist purpose' prove the superiority of this economic form.

The British Labour Party experience with nationalization in no way invalidates the principle of public ownership. First, the labor government nationalized not the basic, the controlling sectors of economy but a mere 20 per cent. To top it off, the main efforts such as coal, involved the most bankrupt industries.

This resulted in the coal interests being given the opportunity to rescue their capital from this area and invest it in more profitable sectors. Thus the system actually got a new lease on life. The coal board, appointed to operate the industry, is composed almost in its entirety of the former owners. The control and management of the mines so far as the workers in

the industry are concerned, has taken on no new character, and a vital element in planning and developing the economy — workers' control — has been blocked.

ISN'T IT DANGEROUS?

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Woolworth Picket Leaps to Toronto

Demonstrations in support of the Negro student lunch counter sit-downs against Jim Crow in the southern US that have been spreading through the northern states have now leaped the border into Canada.

On March 26 and April 9 and 23 some 20 to 30 student-youth and adults demonstrated in the center of downtown Toronto before main Woolworth and Kresge stores shouting slogans and carrying placards that read: Kresge's Deny Southern Negroes Right To Eat, End Woolworth's Southern Apartheid, Join Our Demonstration in Solidarity With Negro Students, etc.

Several thousand copies of a leaflet sketching in the highlights of the student struggle, which has been largely blacked out by the Canadian press, and outlining the purpose of the picket, were circulated to a curious and friendly shopping crowd.

After some weeks of attempts to set up a broad committee to mobilize student groups on the U of T campus, the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Sleeping-Car Porters Union, and others, proved to no avail, the Young Socialist Alliance set a provisional date for a demonstration. A letter to the Socialist Youth League, the youth group of the CP, urging a united demonstration, was ignored. Finally when confronted by a representative of the YSA, Ray Murphy, national secretary of the SYL, rejected the YSA appeal for unity and collaboration in support of the Negro students with the excuse that the YSA was a "Trotskyite front" and was "disruptionist."

So far the Toronto demonstrations have been carried by the YSA, some students from UTS, and friends of the Socialist Educational League. As interest continues to rise efforts are still being made to set up a broad committee and to strengthen the picket line.

Proletarian, Militant, Trotskyist — Dead

As this issue was being locked up George Stanton collapsed and died in Toronto while at work



as a welder. A colorful figure, Paddy was widely known in labor and socialist circles here and on the West Coast. In his 58 years he played a vig-

orous role in the union movement—from organizer for the IWW and OBU, to president of the Prince Rupert Labor Council, etc. A convinced Marxist, he early identified himself with the ideas of Trotsky. In 1956 he ran for Toronto Board of Control on the ticket of the Socialist Educational League of which he was chairman at the time of his death. Our next issue will carry a full appreciation of the man and his work.

Massive Br Rally Protests H Bomb

Roaring their approval of demands that Britain scrap her nuclear arms unilaterally, that her nuclear missile bases be ripped up and that Britain withdraw from war alliances such as NATO, a crowd of 100,000 gathered in Trafalgar Square, London, to welcome the participants in the third annual Aldermaston March. Some 20,000 men, women and children entered the square, after completing the 54 mile trek from the Aldermaston nuclear station to become part of what one speaker described as the greatest popular rally since the Chartist processions of 1848.

Four Labor Party M.P.'s flaunted their defiance of the Gaitskell leadership of the party by heading the column as it approached the square. Last month Gaitskell forced the resignation of Richard Crossman from the Labor Party shadow cabinet for opposing his support of the Tories in building up Britain's nuclear armament. Previously Gaitskell had carried out the expulsion of the Socialist Labor League, a tendency in the party fighting for the adoption of a class struggle program.

The Aldermaston anti-Bomb demonstration marked an effective turn away from the false line that "peace is above politics," in the direction of a conscious anti-Tory policy and towards identification with labor's left wing. This trend was revealed in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament conference a few weeks previously where resolutions calling for withdrawal from NATO and urging that CND play a larger role in the labor movement were passed. Other motions that the leadership be elected and that a vigorous campaign amongst unionists to gain support for the "blacking" of work on bases and the bomb were defeated.

The Workers Vanquard

Mid-April, 1960

Vol. 5, No. 5(53)

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Toronto—Price 5 cents



Fresh from gala receptions held in his honor by society circles of Montreal and Ottawa, French president Charles de Gaulle met a totally different reception as he stepped from his plane at a Toronto airport. On the observation roof appeared a mass of placards bearing such slogans; Free Algeria! Self-Determination for Algeria! Stop the Killings in Algeria! Stop Atomic Tests in Sahara! Some seventy-five Arabs, organized in the Friends of the Middle East, carried the signs and shouted slogans as de Gaulle inspected an honor guard.

INTEGRATION FIGHT WINNING, SPREADING

By CLIFF COTTON

As it moves into its tenth week the lunch counter integration battle continues to spread in the southern United States and now includes every southern state, despite a mounting campaign of jailings and stiff fines by racist authorities. As of the last weekend in March, the number of Negro students arrested totalled more than 1,800 throughout the South.

The 350,000 member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has issued a call for a nation-wide boycott of the Woolworth, Kress, Kresge and Grant chain stores. NAACP attorneys have mapped legal strategy for coping with the mass arrests in the south.

The demonstrations taking place in the major cities across the north in solidarity with the southern students, strengthening the southern boycott to force the chain stores to abandon their racist lunch counter policies, have been given a new perspective. A committee headed by AFL-CIO vice-president A. Philip Randolph has called for a mass demonstration on May 17—the anniversary of the US Supreme Court's school desegregation decision—in New York's garment district. This call has been endorsed by the New York Youth Committee for Integration and now the Young Socialist Alliance is urging that nation-wide demonstrations be called on May 17 in support of the Negro students of the south.

While in some areas police have stepped up their campaign of jailings and have closed their eyes to or abetted mob attacks, in others the student actions have forced white supremacists to yield ground. In Texas a long standing "local custom" has been broken with the seating for the first time of Negroes at the coffee shop in Houston's city hall.

In Maryland the dining room of the Baltimore Hochschild-Kohn department store served Negroes when 200 Morgan State College students marched into the downtown area to set up picket lines. In Nevada, the plush hotels and ca-

sinos of Las Vegas lifted their ban on Negro guests after the local NAACP announced plans for wide scale sit-ins.

As the heroic southern movement continued to gain momentum southern white people in increasing numbers are speaking up in support. In Atlanta, Georgia, 438 white college students signed a petition endorsing an "Appeal for Human Rights" which was published as an advertisement in three local papers by Negro students. Segregationist students who had campaigned for a big anti-integration vote in a poll as to whether Negro students should be accepted in their North Carolina college, were impressed and chagrined when 642 voted yes, as against 742 opposed.

New arrests and jailings have been reported in North Carolina, Tennessee and Georgia. At the all-Negro Alabama State College in Montgomery, 100 students were dismissed from the school on a flimsy pretext. Eight of eleven arrested sit-downers in Tallahassee chose 60 day jail terms over \$300 fines and called for a "fill-the-jails" stand throughout the south.

On-the-scene observers report that the movement in the south is just getting started. The main reason, according to NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE'S Robert Bird

"is an altogether new spirit of daring, accompanied by certainty of rightness which is arising almost jubilantly. . . ."

Surveying student actions at 18 major northern universities and colleges, the March 20 New York Times found that the issue has aroused students as had few others. "A wave of concern for southern Negro college students is stirring campus after campus in the north."

The New York Youth Committee For Integration has organized four successful picket lines of students in front of the main downtown Woolworth store. On March 26, 15 New York Woolworth stores were picketed and when nearly 500 youth from the various lines converged on a Harlem Woolworth store they forced it to be closed.

Van. Meeting Protests Treatment Of Indians

"Resolved; that this Vancouver meeting of working people condemns most emphatically the vile discrimination which resulted in the death of Eva Harry, a native Indian patient ill with tuberculosis in Vancouver General Hospital. And suggests as a first step to eliminate cases of this kind that the federal government immediately initiate a move to hand over the Indian Affairs Department to native Indians who will be elected by native Indians—not selected by government officials."

The above resolution was moved from the floor and adopted unanimously, to be forwarded to appropriate labor and government bodies by the April 1 Vancouver Socialist Forum. Chaired by Fred McNeil, on the topic, Discrimination Against The Native Indian—Was The Eva Harry Case Unique?, the forum provoked a very lively and informative discussion after the speakers presented a damning case against discrimination.

Eva Harry, close to death in Vancouver's General Hospital, because she was a native Indian, was ordered removed to an Indian hospital in Sardis, 60 miles distant. She pleaded to remain and when moved struggled violently. Her hands were tied and she was placed on a stretcher in a closed panel

truck, her head approximately over the rear axle. She died before the truck reached the outskirts of Vancouver. The driver, who had no qualifications as a first aid attendant, found her when he stopped to pick up a load at Shaughnessy Hospital. She had snapped the strings tying her hands in a vain attempt to get a last breath.

The first speaker, Mrs. Hattie Fergusson, a leading woman of the Gitikshan tribe, told how, though fully qualified, she found it impossible to obtain work as a stenographer in the main centers of BC. She could only find work as a waitress or housemaid and continually faced the barrier of discrimination when looking for accommodation.

Andy Matval, of the Squamish tribe, sharply condemned the do-gooder and paternalistic practices of white leaders in BC and the rest of the country. He called for more preventative medical services and social workers to help the Indians on the reserves. The last speaker, executive member of the Marine Workers Union, Reg Bullock, outlined the facts on the Eva Harry case which he proved was one of many cases of callous discrimination. He saw discrimination as rooted in capitalism and its replacement with socialism as the only real answer.

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Help the Vanguard Drive Make \$2,000 Objective

By JOHN BANNON

Sometimes we are criticized for being "too negative," meaning, I suppose, that the VANGUARD thinks there is nothing good in the capitalist system of today and the supporters of that system. Well, that's precisely what we DO think.

A system which produced two catastrophic world wars, and threatens the destruction of humanity with a third—all in the interest of profit; which has unemployment and suffering of all kinds built into it—just doesn't have much that can be said in favor of it. Take the racist slaughter in South Africa, for example. Or, in our own (?) country, the appalling fact that, according to welfare experts, two-thirds of the people who produce the wealth in Canada haven't sufficient income to lead an "adequate" existence.

And finally—the worst crime of all — we believe that the workers and farmers of this country and elsewhere are capable of doing a better job, not of running this system for the benefit of bankers and industrialists, but of taking over the economy and planning it in their own interest.

The Vanguard sees as its task; to bare the roots of the evils in present day society, show the possibilities, and help organize the forces for change. If you agree with our purpose we are confident that you cannot but want to help keep

the Vanguard going and widen its influence by pitching in and helping us reach the \$2,000 objective of this year's financial drive.

Toronto supporters have come through with pledges totalling \$1,100, while Vancouver has accepted its quota of \$600. George, working on the drive in Vancouver, writes, "I have now collected \$45 toward our goal—quite a promising start." And since then another \$47 has been added. Progress as a whole to date—pledgewise at least, has not been bad at all. Our only request is that rooters for the socialist press start the CASH rolling in now.

So far—with five of nine weeks gone—we've collected only \$509.35; including \$367 from Toronto, \$92 from Vancouver, and \$50.35 from other points in BC and Alberta. Needless to say, we haven't yet heard from some of our best contributors. And please remember, \$2,000 is a MINIMUM—so let's get the campaign rolling.

Vancouver—

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CDN LABOR HAILS NEW PARTY AT TUMULTUOUS CONVENTION

The major plans and some of the project drawings for the construction and the official launching next year of Canada's new labor party were signed and sealed by the third constitutional convention of the Canadian Labor Congress in Montreal.

It was a tumultuous and emotionally charged demonstration. When the motion was put to the 1,600 delegates representing a million and a half organized workers the entire assembly sprang to its feet to a fanfare of cheers and whistle calls. Confetti scattered through the air. The strains of O Canada that arose from one section of the floor were soon overwhelmed with the resounding chorus of labor's traditional song *Solidarity Forever*.

At no time was the issue in doubt. So overwhelming was the determination and enthusiasm of the delegates to get the new party underway, and put a labor government into Ottawa, that not one CLC officer or ranking union official spoke among the 36 delegates who took the mike. Of those who spoke, 32 favored the resolution that instructs the CLC executive to prepare a founding convention with representatives of the CCF.

The 40-man delegation of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers walked out in a body

before a dinner-hour recess to demonstrate opposition to any part of its per capita dues "being used or channeled to the formation or assistance of any political party." But the effect of their abstention was undercut. When IBEW delegate Angus MacDonald delivered their statement that "the party would be detrimental to their continued advancement and welfare" he expressed his personal hope that the union members would heed the convention call and change their minds.

The only other noteworthy opposition was that expressed by BC Boilermaker's secretary and delegate, Bill Stewart. He voiced one of the variations of the Communist Party position which has been one of opposition to the Labor Party. Stewart laid down as a condition of support the admission of the independent unions that have been undemocratically barred from participation in the party. Behind the CP ultimatum that it be a federated party open to its participation, lies its very real support of the

reactionary Tory government. The CP hopes to widen the Diefenbaker government's tactical differences with its British and US allies in the interest of peaceful co-existence. It also argues for an all-inclusive, non-class "people's movement" instead of an independent labor party.

BC & Ont Meetings Discuss New Party

The joint CCF-CLC national committee's proposed program and constitution for the new labor party were presented to a seminar called by all the Toronto East End CCF clubs. Stanley Knowles and Morden Lazarus were the main speakers. Following their addresses the 90-odd persons in attendance broke up into discussion groups following which their appointed chairmen presented one question each to the speakers.

How is it possible to talk about planning "to achieve economic democracy" without nationalization? queried one of the groups. We should say we are socialists.

See NEW LABOR—page 4

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New Labor Party Discussions

(Continued from page 1)

and that we can't solve the problem with patchwork schemes, an old timer challenged. Knowles said that he agreed, but quickly side-stepped away.

Much more to the liking of the speakers was a question—how can we keep the Trotskyists out of the new party? We handled them before, boasted Lazarus, referring to the top brass's long years of struggle against the socialists which was capped by the Ontario expulsions in 1955, and we can handle them again.

This talk and boastfulness about barring minority opinion from the new party did not go down well. It caused one East York member, after enquiring how it was intended to keep them out, to express the opinion that it may well be that such Marxist organizations could be useful to the new party. Knowles, before skirting off, commented that it was much more important to get people into the party and not worry about keeping small minorities out.

Why the CCF failed

The CCF failed as a political party, according to CCF MP Douglas Fisher, because it was too pure, too removed from the people, and the decisions were made from the top and not the constituency level. Fisher was addressing a York Center CCF banquet attended by some 150 persons.

Pole-Langdon, secretary of the De Havilland UAW office workers' local, asked Fisher if in his opinion it was wise to exclude certain people from the New Party. When asked if he meant the "pinko-reds," Langdon replied yes. No one should be excluded, said Fisher. We have to get rid of our self-righteousness and purity, come down to the work-

ing man's level and not think we are too good to mix with them. If the new party doesn't, it will be a failure.

BC CCF Convention

"Don't upset the apple-cart, we have a new party and an election in the offing" was the excuse behind the blocking of the many good resolutions sent in by area units from coming before the delegates assembled at the BC CCF convention.

But one of the highlights in a very dull three days was the introduction of a resolution to be sent to the national committee of the new party as a statement of principle from the BC section. Presented by delegate Jack Snowsell as an amendment to the Liaison Committee's report, paraphrasing the Regina Manifesto, it sought to

commit the new party to a socialist objective.

It read; "We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supercede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible. We will not rest content until we have eradicated capitalism and put into operation a full program of socialized planning."

It was apparent that the majority felt such a "clause 4" in the constitution of the Canadian labor party is necessary. But an adroit "board of control" managed to get it off the agenda with a promise to introduce it in a subsequent session. All efforts to get it back on the agenda failed.

Two editorials from Workers' Vanguard, May 1960)

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

81 Queen St. West, Toronto 1, Ont. EM 6-1454

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

Demand that Canada Break from NORAD-NATO Pacts

(by) The editors

After a week of lies and double talk, so shocked were the Canadian people by the U.S. State Department's shameless admission it has been violating the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union with its U2 spy planes, that External Affairs Minister Howard Green felt compelled to charge the U.S. with risking the atomic destruction of the world. He recognized that "one of these days such an incident might trigger a nuclear war." He expressed the fear, but the hope that such an act of war would not wreck the summit conference scheduled a week later.

It was this deliberate brinkmanship, not at all a routine case of peacetime spying that it is now being made out to be, and the Pentagon's brazen declaration that it would continue with such provocations, that sank the summit conference. Mr. Green's words are as true now as they were then. But today Prime Minister Diefenbaker is praising "the restraint and dignity and high sense of purpose with which the Western leaders attempted to overcome the difficulties which Mr. Khrushchov had put in the way," and affirms the strengthened "resolve of the Western countries to remain united."

The unity that Diefenbaker seeks to maintain is continued commitment of Canadian arms and manpower to the NATO war pact (*North American Treaty Organization*) which welds a network of close to 1,000 military bases around the U.S.S.R. (*then Soviet Russia*), one of which the shot down U2 operated from. It is continued subservience to the Pentagon bosses of NORAD (*the North American air defence pact tying the Canadian air force to U.S. Pentagon operations --ed.*) This unity is a pact of death, for it can only lead to a stepped-up military drive and a nuclear holocaust triggered by the Pentagon.

Through a maze of official admissions and counter-statements it is now clear that under the NORAD agreement, signed by the Liberal government and implemented by the Tories, control of Canada's air space, in fact Canada's foreign policy, lies entirely in the hands of the Pentagon. Canadian bases have been utilized for U2 flights that have been going on now for some four years over Soviet territory. On the very day of the summit meeting, when NORAD forces were provocatively placed on the war-state of "increased readiness," Mr. Diefenbaker refused to deny the use of Canadian air space to United States U2 spy planes. The policies of the Diefenbaker government are hurtling us towards war.

Under NORAD and NATO the militarization of Canada goes on apace... In collaboration with the U.S., Canada is making and stockpiling psycho-chemicals, nerve gases and germs — eight ounces of one could wipe out all humanity. The government has arranged the taking over of a US submarine preparatory to building a Canadian submarine fleet.

The military budget stands at only 11.9 per cent less than during the height of the Korean war — more is being spent per capita than in Britain with its vast navy and overseas armies; the cold warriors will no doubt now go full steam ahead with the Bomarc (*U.S. nuclear-armed missiles destined for the Canadian North "Dew Line."* —*ed.*) bases.

Stop Canada from pursuing its suicidal course! Join the struggle to make our place in the world one that Canadian working men and women can be proud of !

Break Canada from the NATO and NORAD military pacts. Force an end to military expenditures. Divert the funds to a national health plan, low-cost housing, schools and other necessities. Join the march to a workers and farmers government in Ottawa.

Democracy Must Prevail

Who should and who should not be a member of the new labor party? (*the growing momentum towards formation of the New Democratic Party --ed.*) Why everyone who believes in independent labor political action and is prepared to do something in support of that belief !

But on the one hand the joint CLC-CCF committee (*Canadian Labor Congress and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP --ed.*) has made special allowance for the admission of all persons who fall in the amorphous category of being "liberally minded" and a considerable staff has been allocated to enlist them in new party clubs that will stand outside of both constituency and union affiliate membership (*in reality the bulk of actives clubs were inherited from the CCF -- ed.*) . On the other, we have a situation in British Columbia where the membership of one person, a respected leader of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union, became a matter for provincial convention decision (*possibly comrade Paddy Stanton -- ed.*) And in a series of seminars in the East, top, "responsible," leaders of the new party movement, in a boastful, truculent way, talk in terms of keeping a whole category of persons out.

It has become more or less accepted that the Communist Party must be barred. But in this case this traditional scare used to bar the door to all left minority opinion, this excuse, is not even available. The Communist threat doesn't exist. It is a well-known fact that the Communist Party does not support the new party.

Deprived of this traditional thought-controlling device and being compelled to concede that it is not exactly within the liberal ethos to exclude persons for opinions that they may hold, within the framework of supporting the new party, these "responsible" leaders are having to find other arguments to justify their exclusionist policies. They are circulating the slander that the Trotskyists, who it is well known, consistently supported the CCF, did so only in order to wreck it. And presumably in supporting the new labor party they have the same totally inexplicable purpose in mind, to wreck it.

The CCF always had in its ranks what the right wing designated as Trotskyists — this is the label that they gave their left wing opponents, the genuine socialist current. M. J. Coldwell, in his address on the 25th anniversary of the CCF, commenting on the diversity of opinion in the CCF

at the very beginning, mentions a group "from Toronto who were in reality Trotskyites and we had of course, a United Farmers of Ontario group led by Agnes MacPhail." Admittedly, convinced Trotskyists joined (many were barred) and encouraged others to join the CCF — strange conduct for alleged wreckers. When a score of Ontario members charged with Trotskyism, were expelled, they fought to maintain their membership, which in one case was of 20 years duration. They battled from the Ontario provincial convention right up to the Winnipeg national convention where symbolically the right wing cut away the last vestige of the "Regina Manifesto." But even the official records of the CCF, written by the accusers, do not sustain the charge of wrecking. The Ontario provincial council was compelled to admit that "the accused had been useful members of their riding associations and had not shown any overt disruptive tendencies," that they were expelled not for any overt acts but for their ideas.

The CCF has been wrecked all right, but it wasn't any of the doings of the Trotskyists. Whether for good or for evil they were never in a position to determine any of the actions or policies of the party. The wreckers of the CCF were the identical persons who are expounding this policy of exclusion to the new party — the Mackenzies, the MacDonalds, the Brydens and Lazaruses, the Coldwells and Lewises. They wrecked the CCF by watering down the program until it became indistinguishable from that of the capitalist parties, by leading the pack for Canadian participation in the war to sustain the bloody (South Korean) dictator Syngman Rhee, by flouting the national convention decision and supporting German Rearmament, by harassing and driving out of the movement all those Trotskyists and alleged Trotskyists, everyone who opposed their ruinous course.

There is a real and present danger to the new labor party — it lies in the very persons who are presenting themselves as its leaders. These wreckers of all the promises that the CCF once had, having learned nothing, are now interfering in the launching of a great new project so full of promise for the Canadian people. Their policy of exclusion of the Trotskyists and anyone else for that matter, who stand on the principle of independent labor political action, seriously jeopardizes the development of the new labor party. No one should allow them to implement this policy.

On North Bay March 'Gainst Bomarc Bases

By JOE ROSENBLATT

A damp Tuesday morning met the 50 picketers who had come some 250 miles from the universities of Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto to picket the Bomarc missile site at North Bay. Most of us were tired, having got up around five o'clock to meet the early shift going to work on the site at seven in the morning.

Carrying our picket signs and leaflets, we walked silently down the road to the RCAF military installation. We hastily formed a circle at the Trout Lake entrance. Five miles up the road to the north, a stronger force of Montreal students had already formed their picket line.

The military police were ready for us. An RCAF police van with its red light greeting us, came scurrying down the road. "Who's in charge here," barked a security officer—and in a pleasant manner told us to leave the site. Taken by surprise, we in turn politely agreed to his request and he left.

STAND FIRM

Almost spontaneously we decided to defy his orders and proceeded to picket the site. Sure enough the hornet returned, this time he wasn't very polite. "Am I to understand that you refuse to leave," he said, looking more official than ever. U of T student Doug Campbell replied that we would leave when it was necessary. Seeing that we were solid the man sped away muttering something about seeing the higher-ups.

We proceeded with our picketing. Doug broke out with a song which went to the tune of the "Cassions Go Rolling Along"—"Hear the cry; Hear the plea, Rise from all Humanity: Give us peace and to hell with the Bomb. There'll be no tears and no dread 'Cause you can't cry when you're dead. Give us peace and to hell with the Bomb."

The morning shift was already arriving, startled by our signs—

"Down with Nuclear Weapons," "We will all be cremated Equally," "The clean bomb, the ultimate detergent," "Ban the Bomarc." We received a mixed reaction. Some of the workers going into the site stopped long enough to get some literature exposing the futility of the arms build up. Others drove right past the picket line, apparently somewhat irritated by our company. It was amusing to find that while we were being photographed by the press, Dick Tracy himself, sitting smugly in the police van, was also taking our photo.

PARADE IN NORTH BAY

Just before noon, we ended the picketing, giving ourselves enough time to assemble for a parade through the main street of North Bay. It was quite an impressive parade, with picket signs aloft, banners stretched out, greeting the citizens of North Bay.

As we marched two abreast, people stopped to watch. Cameras seemed to appear from nowhere, taking shots of the parade. At a chosen corner we halted to rally for a meeting. Norman Johnson, Toronto regional secretary of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, opened up the meeting with a short speech followed by other students from Toronto and from Montreal.

Johnson urged onlookers to protest with us the continued construction of the Bomarc base, to urge the banning of nuclear tests and write to their MP and the Prime Minister that Canada withdraw from involvement in the nuclear arms race. Mitro Makarchuk denounced the Canadian Legion's blocking us from meeting in the Memorial Park as a McCarthyite act.

From this participant's viewpoint the highlight of the trek were the informal discussions we held at every opportunity. There we dis-



cussed the need for a broad social program assuring employment for workers who upon elimination of war industries would otherwise face unemployment; whether the USSR which had just exposed U2 spying, was a threat to Canada or was the war threat American capitalism; and if the way to realize our demands on the Tory government was to get behind the struggle to build the new labor party.

The spirit that permeated the student demonstrators and colored the motorcade is summed up in the words: "We have just begun to fight."

June 13, 1960

Dear Jerry;

Enclosed you will find the latest papers indexed. Jean has taken the sheets from the book that cover the period from where these begin back to the first of the year; She is going to have a photo copy made for you. They are done but she hasn't been around for the last four or five days as she is not feeling well.

Just finished phoning Max to tell him that Bill Green died last night. Looked like he was coming along fairly well after his close brush with death. However he had a stroke just after one of his sons brought him home from having supper with his family and it was too much for him. He was seventy nine so what with the state of medicine today I suppose there is no complaint. All this must be depressing for Max--Mrs Mac, Paddy, and now Bill. But I switched the conversation rapidly to the declaration of the putchists in Argentina who are reported as saying in the press today that they are leading a struggle against the government for being conciliatory towards Trotskyism--and the report on the Soviet press' attack against ultra leftists who disagree with the Khurshchev policies.

The tour seems to be coming along fine. They will probably be phoning in tonight. Spoken to everyone but Joe. It seems we have a good team and one that will be able to go right across the country. It will be a good experience for Joe who is a very serious and dedicated revolutionary. I suppose they never got started properly until Wednesday and by Sunday they had about 100 subs. ..all Hamilton. When last heard from they were in Niagara Falls. Met some new good types in Hamilton....one who was expelled from the CP not long ago--seems that he brought up the question of the Lenin Testament at the last national convention. Got a good letter for the last branch meeting from Cliff but it is down stairs and I am chained here to the store.

Chinaed yes.. Quite a job you ~~take~~ comrades got me doing here. But for the 10 business days of this month the store has averaged \$50 a day. If I am going to be here we might as well make it pay. After all we are having to pay. It is a full time job. About all I can manage to do is to read the press. There is hardly a period when there is no one in the store....a couple of spots that is all. Yesterday was the first time I was able to get down to doing any actual work on the paper. The pamphlet --well I have hardly picked the material up. But I hope to get the paper cleared away in a week. Then it might be best to send the boys for a week or a few days whatever I need, to close points such as Oshawa or Peterboro with Cliff here in the store while I polish it off. Will see.

Of course we miss you both badly ~~but~~ and the tourists badly but John seems to be trying to fill in. The youth Sunday night class is shaping out not too badly. Twelve the Sunday before and the same last night. --and a few different new people each time. Managed to turn a couple of people up from the store. We will be commencing the SEL Friday night class this coming Friday--must get a notice out--and we will see how things go there. We have received word that Peter Lennon is coming back. With the experience of the SLL behind him he should be of considerable help. Our musicians are all excited. Ernie is seriously learning how to type and Bill C has been coming down and together they have

been keeping and putting the place into shape. We now have the big fan inserted in a hole we put in the back room hall--so we went suffocate this summer.

But to take up your latest letter. The Vancouver comrades both 1 and 2 from all my experience do not really understand what a true Bolshevik relationship is. I have heard them, various of them, say things which are absolutely shocking, and which if said by anyone of us who have had some experience in a group which has made serious attempts to be Bolshevik would only signify split. I have learned to discount many many things that they say. This is unfortunate to have to say about persons who are really in many ways serious revolutionists but it is true--you must not take many things they say seriously. I don't mean by this that we shouldn't be sensitive to this tendency of theirs to rave for it must be overcome. But it is going to take time and experience. None of them really feel that they really need the party yet.

Yes I think it would be very good if Bill were to present a document since it appears that he is in actual life, in their own circle, claiming that there are basic differences. At most the "differences" expresses tendencies. And I am generally in agreement as to how you and Ruth see them. They are differences that ~~xxxxxx~~ are inevitable in any healthy movement which would easily be resolved in a unified ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ branch. I doubt that he will draw up a document but a document would permit us to come to grips with the situation and I feel to everyone's satisfaction should that the ~~xxxxxx~~ schism does not really have any justification. It would, I feel, not deepen the gap but would lay the basis for our starting to overcome it. Of course if we had any reason to think that it would consolidate the tendencies into a more serious form we should seriously consider ways of discouraging the presentation of a document at this time.

When you have a chance I hope you will take time out to go to see Malcolm and have a talk with him about his taking over the post of West Coast editor on a serious basis. Gerry sent in an article on the unemployed meeting called by the labor council. I sent it to Malcolm asking him to have it back by the deadline--today. It has come back with a lengthy criticism appended to it. Then too he sent in a clipping on a CCF Hillcrest meeting where Bill W proposed and had passed a resolution protesting Hong Kong police participation in the raids on Chinese Canadians with regards to illegal entries into Canada. His criticism of Bill's action is in my opinion valid---one would gather RCMP raids would be ok but not raids by these damn foreign cops--nothing is said about the rotten immigration policy of the Can government which forces Chinese to adopt completely illegal methods to get in and make them easy prey for shysters etc. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ While it is useful to receive the articles back here with Malcolm's comments they should come back here ~~xxxxxx~~ a resolved form--the differences should be hammered out there with the writers and what is submitted commonly arrived at out there--or as much as possible with the editor down here having the final word on unresolved matters. But generally these matters which cannot be resolved between the

writer and the West Coast editor should be when possible cut out of the article for decision after more discussion. Of course Malcolm has not been very well of late and we cannot press him too hard.

Probably you have the typewriter by now. Sent it COD. We were somewhat hard up at the time. Glad to see you were able to pick up a job so fast so that you won't be in any financial difficulties. The place sounds very good as you describe it. Will be looking it over shortly. Are you getting the Militants and Newsletters, YS's etc etc.

But I must close---want to get the paper out the first of next week so every evening is precious. And I must finish off a letter to Joe (Peter that I started in the store about four days ago. _

warmest regards

Ross

New Labor Party Boosted By CCF Re-election in Sask

The projected Labor Party was given a boost by the re-election of the CCF in Saskatchewan. But the CCF, caretaker of the new party until it appears on the scene next year, failed it by placing no candidates, by not presenting any alternative to the capitalist party machines, in the key Quebec elections and the New Brunswick election to take place June 27.

The Saskatchewan CCF's decision to make a prepaid medical care plan the issue in the final week of the campaign won it the election. For the fifth time in a row the CCF went back into office, this time with two more seats—38 of a possible 54.

Social Credit's campaign, backed up by top brass from the Alberta and BC government and presented as a struggle for power, fizzled out. It lost the three seats that it had had. The Tories hoped that the old Diefenbaker magic would work but they elected no members to the legislature. The new Liberal party leader, the renegade CCF MP, Ross Thatcher, won his seat plus two more which gave the Liberals

16 and the position of official opposition.

The Saskatchewan CCF leadership, after announcing its intention to legislate a medical care plan in the last session, withdrew in the face of a vicious opposition campaign whipped up by the heads of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons. But this did not placate the top medical brass of the province and their all-out assault against the CCF, aided by the CMA and AMA, forced the CCF to swing from a campaign summed up in the stand-pat slogan "Tested and Trusted" and rally its

forces behind an electoral struggle to win a prepaid medical care plan.

It was in his May 28 dispatch, only a week and a few days from the vote, that *Toronto Star* staff reporter Ben Rose noted "For the first time Premier Douglas has attacked the doctors' campaign from his platforms in the hustings, charging some are using 'abominable, despicable, and scurrilous' methods to defeat the CCF government."

Nonetheless the CCF, no longer presenting an alternative to the ominous threat of atomic war and widespread unemployment, suffered a drop in electoral support. From 45.2 per cent of the vote in 1956 it fell to 41 per cent. In the 1956 elections it rang up strong majorities in the two main urban areas. In Saskatoon all other parties lost their deposits—in Regina only the Liberals saved theirs and by a very small margin. This election saw the CCF get 43 per cent of the vote in both Regina and Saskatoon, only slightly higher than its provincial average. In 1956 87 per cent of the vote in Saskatoon went CCF and 50 per cent in Regina. Last week in Saskatoon the Liberals more than doubled their vote and the Tories more than tripled theirs.

Despite the fact that the CCF won 38 seats and established a plurality higher than most governments on the continent, Liberal leader Thatcher has suggested that the government has no mandate for a medical plan. The Canadian Medical Association through its general secretary, Dr. A. D. Kelly,

NEW LABOR PARTY BOOSTED BY CCF RE-ELECTION IN SASK

(Continued from page 1)

has expressed in words its acceptance of the decision of the electorate—but not the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons. The CMA, meeting in Banff on June 15, issued a six point statement of beliefs and a 14 point statement of terms that a government medical plan must not conflict with to get its support.

Dr. Anderson, a member of the advisory committee appointed by the Saskatchewan government, in a statement to the CMA delegates challenged; "We as physicians cannot and should not adopt the attitude that compulsory government health insurance is inevitable nor should we settle down and negotiate the best terms possible."

When the Swift Current medical plan was established the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons told doctors in Region 1 that it would cancel their licenses to practice. At that time Premier Douglas told them that if any licenses were cancelled he would call a special session of the legislature and take away the college's power to license doctors by investing it in the University of Saskatchewan. Whether a big stride towards a national medical plan is to be established through Saskatchewan will now depend on the actions of the Saskatchewan CCF government.

CCFers, trade union militants, supporters of the principle of independent labor political action were unable to register their support of the new labor party let alone start to lay its foundations through the election in Quebec on June 22 and the New Brunswick election of June 27. The Quebec CCF, known as the Social Democratic Party of Quebec, which fielded 26 candidates in 1956, did not even present token candidates in a few key urban areas. In New Brunswick, as has been the case since the 1952 elections, there will be no working class candidates opposing the boss political machines.

New Brunswick is one of the most depressed areas in the country. In recent years some 119 industries have gone to the wall, wiping out 2,700 jobs. Fierce opponents of nationalization, the Tories have made as their key talking point against the bankrupt Liberals, the argument that a Liberal



T. C. DOUGLAS

government would get no sops or hand-outs from the Tory government in Ottawa. The deepening crisis has thrown the two party machines into a dither with a former Liberal MLA running on the Tory ticket in Northumberland and Tory MP Van Horne endorsing the provincial Liberals.

The magnitude of the Quebec Social Democratic Party's mistake

in not conducting any kind of campaign in the Quebec elections was revealed in the stunning upset of the Union Nationale government. More than 105,000 went to the polls this year than in the 1956 election. Yet Union Nationale got 50,000 votes less. The Liberals were not a serious alternative to UN—during the last session they were caught merely voting for 85 of some 99 UN bills. But thanks to the SDP leadership the opposition to the UN had no way of casting its vote other than to toss it away on the Liberals.

The Nova Scotia CCF advanced no serious program to meet the only temporarily delayed closure of three more Dosco mines which will throw almost 3,000 of the province's 8,000 miners out of work.

Official figures showed that 13.5 per cent of the working force were unemployed on May 1st. But the fact that through its alliance with CLC unions and such independents as the United Mineworkers it fielded 34 candidates as compared to 11 in 1956 marked a significant stride forward towards building the labor party. It increased its poll on June 7 to 30,741 although it was only successful in returning party leader Michael MacDonald in Cape Breton Centre.

Ont. Carpenters Support New Party Demand International Integrate

A resolution of support to the new labor party was enthusiastically endorsed by the 150 delegates to the Ontario Provincial Council of the Carpenters and Joiners Union, representing some 40,000 carpenters. Although the constitution of their union, one of the oldest in the country, forbids such an action, they signed an Ontario Federation of Labor Statement of Support to the new party. They will be seeking an amendment to the international constitution to sanction the action.

At the same time they recorded vigorous opposition to segregated locals in their union. Their motion demanding integration of Negroes and whites and "equal rights for all members of the brotherhood, irrespective of race, color, creed or geographical location" will be presented at the general convention of the union to be held in Chicago this September.

Proof of the seriousness with which the delegates take the integration resolution was their election to the post of secretary treasurer of the provincial council, a Negro member, George F. McCurdy, business agent of Windsor Local 494.

Some two weeks later the elections at the Toronto and District Council of the Carpenters saw a major upset in the replacement of Alfred Ward—for 21 years the council's secretary treasurer and an executive member of the Toronto and District Labor Council—by the 34 year old Angus Smith.

Smith headed the polls in last year's election, but the international office declared the election invalid, thus touching off such opposition that council meetings were cancelled for several months. Smith supporters won two of the three business agent officers in the council.

Strontium in Diet Worse than Milk

Have you worried over and often thought of cutting down on your consumption of milk with its high content of radio-active poisoning due to fall-out from explosions of nuclear bombs. Well don't bother worrying any more! In fact it is quite possible you should be drinking more milk.

To be sure, as Dr. George Dionne, dean of agriculture at McGill University, told the central Ontario branch of the Agriculture Institute of Canada early in March, any man who orders the detonation of an atomic test weapon is condemning 15,000 unborn children to a life of misery. And when French president De Gaulle, recently wined and dined by Canadian officials, set off his Sahara "clean" nuclear tests, he caused a sharp increase in radio-active fall-out in Canada.

Health Minister Monteith admitted that a rise was recorded in two of Canada's 25 stations measuring the amount of radio-active poison in the air. And you are right when you recall the official British government report of a few months ago that the level of Strontium 90 in British milk has almost doubled.

Yes, every glass of milk we drink
See MORE STRONTIUM—p. 4

More Strontium In Diet...

(Continued from page 1)

is poisoned with Strontium 90 causing leukemia and bone cancer. But cutting down on milk consumption is no way out. Recent tests carried out by Consumers Union have proven that milk is by no means the only carrier of dread Strontium 90. In fact, in some cities on this continent it is not even the major carrier. In Boston, for instance, the concentration of Strontium poison in milk was less than the amount a teen-ager would consume in a well-balanced diet. Milk is actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet.

Consumers Union, according to an article in the June issue of *Consumers Report* enlisted the aid of Home Economics departments in colleges and universities in 24 cities throughout the US and one in Canada to make an accurate survey of radio-active Strontium not only in milk but in all foods in a typical American diet.

Their finding; "The government's present policy of monitoring milk only—even if the present limited sampling were extended to blanket the country—is inadequate to measure how much Strontium Americans are consuming . . . Specifically in CU's test-diets, milk contributed an average of only a little more than half of the Strontium 90, rather than the 80 per cent which has been assumed in the past."

Here is how Consumers Union explains that milk, as poisonous as it is, is actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet. "In the average case, judging by CU's samples milk is furnishing only slightly

more than half of all the Strontium 90 being eaten; at the same time, it furnishes fully two-thirds of all the calcium. Calculations from CU's data show that the non-milk food (that part of the total diet not including milk) averaged 80 per cent higher in Strontium units than milk, precisely because it had so much less calcium than milk. It follows that milk was actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet.

"For the eight cities where CU tested milk alone the special milk samples averaged 10.9 Strontium units, well above the CU average of 8.8 for milk collected last July and August for the report published in February. Even so, the total-diet samples in the same eight cities had an average of 24 per cent more Strontium units than the milk-alone samples.

"... in 19 of the 25 cities CU's total-diet Strontium 90 concentrations were higher than the average of 10 Strontium units which the Public Health Service found in its somewhat limited samplings of milk for the same month. CU's total-diet samples averaged almost 12 Strontium units, more than one third of the Public Health Services' recently revised 'maximum permissible limit' for milk."

There have been reports that certain scientists are on the verge of realizing Strontium-free milk. But such a discovery would obviously serve no real purpose. There appear to be only two alternatives confronting us—take whatever actions are necessary to stop all further nuclear tests or—stop eating. We can make our choice.

#55 - June 1968

Press Fund Drive Goes Over Top

By JOHN BANNON

Well, we made it: \$2,012.56! Not quite on time perhaps, but in full, and that's what counts. Better still, we've gone over the top! Once again the friends and supporters of the VANGUARD have rallied to the banner and, with much time and effort, have come through with the necessary funds to keep our paper rolling off the presses for the next 12 months.

The results are even more gratifying when we consider that this drive came on the heels of the drive last fall, so that in effect we have raised some \$4,000 in a period of a little over 20 months.

It's particularly appropriate that Canada's only revolutionary socialist publication should receive a financial shot-in-the-arm at such a time. With the emergence of a new labor party on the political scene in this country, the necessity of extending the scope and influence of the socialist press becomes increasingly urgent. The Vanguard is the only paper that has carried a consistent battle for a socialist program for the new party. This merger of the CCF and trade union forces, which holds out promising perspectives for the Canadian working class, cannot be allowed to end up in the same blind alley into which the right wing opportunists and porkchoppers have led the CCF. We are confident that this paper will play a major role in rallying the forces to build a socialist wing in it, and in putting the party on the socialist road. Your contribution will help to make that possible.

It is also very good to know that we have solid support behind us at the start of the national tour which will carry the VANGUARD mobile unit across the continent from Toronto to Vancouver, increasing the readership and influence of the paper, and getting the ideas of socialism, in the form of books and pamphlets, into the political arsenal of an increasing number of socialists and militants.

Before we leave you, here is a breakdown of our total. Toronto and district—\$1,303.50, Vancouver—\$488.76, and from other centers in BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan—\$250.30.

And last, but by no means least, many thanks to all our friends and readers who made the drive a success.

VANCOUVER HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE

July 5, 1960.

Dear Friend,

On June 26th a small, undernourished woman smashed the windows of an east end bank to draw attention to the plight of her three hungry children. The person in question, Mrs. Barbara Turner, widow of an ex-serviceman, an ex-servicewoman herself, and attempting to live on about \$147 a month social assistance, was quickly taken to police headquarters, charged with "malicious damage" and jailed. She had no legal assistance or advice whatsoever.

Many citizens read the account of this unfortunate woman's story with anger over the injustice of the situation. Eight of those who read of her plight decided they wanted to do something about it and on Saturday, July 2nd the Vancouver Human Rights Committee was born. The purpose of this organization will be to aid distressed working people to obtain their full rights before the law regardless of race, sex, or religion.

Modest beginnings you may say. This is true, but we feel that there is a real need for an active and alert committee of this type in Vancouver; one that will work hand in hand with the organized labor movement and other interested groups and individuals.

The case of Mrs. Turner is a social question. Attempts are presently being made by the authorities to have her committed for psychiatric treatment. This indicates a move on their part to put her out of the way as a social "misfit" and thus avoid the real implications of the question. But let us not be taken in by this. The blame for the "Mrs. Turners" in our society rests on the shoulders of the Diefenbakers, the Bennetts, who do nothing about one out of every five worker presently unemployed in British Columbia, and similarly throughout the rest of Canada, many of whom are forced to live on the pitifully inadequate social assistance payments.

Chiefly through the efforts of the Human Rights Committee Mrs. Turner now has legal aid. We have also brought her case to the attention of the Canadian Legion which will assume some responsibility for ex-servicemen's families. Lack of time and money do not permit us to fight on her behalf as we would like. But this is only the beginning.

The next meeting of the Committee will be held on Wednesday, July 13, at 8 pm, at the home of Mrs. V. Thomassen, 475 East 57th St where we hope to set up the group on a broader basis and discuss future activities around this case of social injustice and others which will come up in the future. Everyone is welcome.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. V. Thomassen,
Acting Chairman,

Mrs. R. Houle, (Ruth Houle)
Acting Secretary,

Vancouver Human Rights Comm.

For information phone FA5-4034 or RE 8-5853

Speech on the A-Bomb & the H-Bomb bomb-shelter campaign

Undated speech notes, found in 1960, from Vancouver Socialist Information Centre (SIC, affiliated to Toronto SEL, possibly written by Ruth Houle (formerly active in Toronto SEL.) These typed pages accompanied a letter from the Vancouver Human Rights Committee signed by Mrs. R. Houle, Acting Secretary, dated July 5, 1960-ed.)

Many crimes (have been) perpetrated against humanity by ruling circles throughout the ages. And US capitalism is not to be outshone by others in this respect. Witness the frame up and murder of **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** at height of McCarthy witch-hunt, the more recent case of the death sentence to **Caryl Chessman** who had fought the world over for his life for 12 years and this in the face of aroused public opinion at the cold-bloodedness of the act. **But is it surprising** to see these things happen when we know that this is the same ruling class that dropped the first atomic bomb, on Hiroshima, 15 years ago today (1945), a city of innocent civilians, and this after **Japan had agreed** to surrender, merely as experiment and display power..

(I refer you briefly to the account appearing in the *CCF News*) "The Hiroshima A-Bomb killed **100,000** by heat-flash, blast, asphyxiation, and radioactive poisoning. It left another **100,000** stricken with radiation sickness, the living dead. And yet, as though this was not enough, within nine years the atomic fission bomb led to the Hydrogen fusion bomb.

Then — "A 15 megaton **H Bomb** was detonated at Bikini on **March 1st, 1954**. Where the Hiroshima A-Bomb equaled the explosive power of 20,000 tons of TNT, the Bikini H-Bomb was **750 Hiroshima's** rolled into one.

(") So on the basis of the previous (Hiroshima) data you can figure that only one of our modern H bombs have the power to kill 5 times the population of Canada at one blow not to mention the millions of the suffering who remain alive -- a living death with burns and radiation sickness.

"The heat-blast alone (in the Bikini blast) was **a ring of fire 10 miles** across. **People exposed 140 miles away** from the blast would almost certainly aicken and die from deadly doses of radioactivity.

And so far we have not even mentioned the **whirlwinds** which are created by the explosion of these bombs and which spread fire almost instantaneously throughout an entire city such as happened with Hiroshima-1

Now if we bring ourselves to the present we find that today, (6) years later we find the US alone has stockpiled enough nuclear weapons to blow us all to hell many times over.

The stage is being set, as we have known since the end of the last war for world war three. The button is ready - it needs only be pushed to start the holocaust. But unfortunately, for world imperialism, its not as simple as that. There are is a big and variable factor they must deal with -- the colonial freedom struggles abroad and in their own backyard the Crowing feeling amongst the ordinary people of Canada and US and Britain that there is another road to follow rather than atomic annihilation -- and the translation of this sentiment into anti war demonstrations (One witnessed this pm? *June 1960 --ed.*)

But in the life and death struggle between 2 opposing world systems - socialism and capitalism - western imperialism is risking all in order to win.

And, friends, I should like to point out that the evidence of this today is the **stepped up psychological campaign** that is being waged to brain wash the American and Canadian people into a state of euphoria, into the misconception that nuclear war does not meet global suicide.

I repeat, the campaign we are witnessing dally in the papers is an attempt to dupe us into accepting holus-bolus imperialism's war plans.

Take for instance the big question raging in civil defense quarters today--that of **fall-out shelters**.

A few years ago **mass evacuation** was all the rage. The siren goes off, everyone hops in the autos and makes a beeline for their nuclear estate somewhere a few 100 miles in the country. Now we are informed that this is passé, and fall out shelters are the thing. In fact **H.H. Atkinson civil defense coordinator for Toronto** has said quite firmly "the public now must change its thinking in regard to nuclear fallout." He rejects the idea that everything in a radiation area would be destroyed. So its all in the way you think, and if you just think properly you no doubt see the sound reasoning behind this type of argument. And since this is the age of "**do-it-yourself**" what better way to salute that rugged, individual who does for **himself why not** a do-it-yourself fall-out shelter.

And so Ottawa's Emergency Measures Organization (formerly Civil Defense) issued a do-it-yourself booklet called "**Your Basement Fallout Shelter.**"

The booklet estimates that an average shelter 4-5 persons will cost \$300-\$400 to build yourself. However to furnish an stock it would cost another \$300 approximately. And this does not seem to indicate the methods for keeping food and air fresh or the sanitation facilities a \$300 shelter would provide.

Eric Nicol of the (*daily Vancouver Province (see brackets in column --not available --ed.*) throws in these comments about life in a fallout shelter for our enlightenment

So I think you will see this is
And this is what is going to protect us in a nuclear war. Of course its candidly admitted by civil defense authorities that this excludes direct hits and of course a direct hit would wipe out a city the size of Vancouver. But we are also informed that it's the US that's going to get the direct hits not us. So if the US can survive then we sailing and apparently they can.

In an article appearing in Province-June 29/60 title US Can Survive Nuclear Attack it deals with an 8 hr, 200 bomb mock atomic attack which took place May 3/60. It left estimated 40,000,000 casualties, dead and wounded."

"Whole cities were devastated in the make-believe attack. Great mushrooms of killing atomic fallout spread over farm fields and streams, polluting and destroying the source of human food."

"But when the 50 hour Operation Alert exercise was over, federal civil defense mobilizer Leo A. Hoegh surveyed the hypothetical damage and concluded that even in the present state of 'non-military preparedness,' the U.S. could survive a heavy nuclear attack."

"As for casualties," Mr. Hoegh states, "they could have been cut by as much as 75% if there had been adequate fallout shelter across the country."

Incidentally there were some reports that only one person - Hoegh himself - evacuated Washington for secret countryside shelters. Hoegh says that wasn't so. He disclosed that some 2,000 key government personnel went with him.

So provided you're employed, ^{and} have about \$300, locate your shelter hundreds of miles away from what is likely to be a target (if you can calculate that), and provided the wind is blowing in the right direction you may come out of it alive provided you don't go whiskey in your little cell, die of suffocation, become seriously ill from improper sanitation, and you don't come out too soon.

Maybe you think I am being unduly cynical about this matter of survival. After all you may say you socialist don't have any faith in the system anyway so what can we expect but criticism. You don't have to take my word for it. Let's find out from the horses mouth

The following information is the result of a survey done by McLean's Magazine in which they interviewed community leaders in nine cities across Canada

^{Result gives something like this}
"The PM isn't getting a shelter in his official residence, and Pearkes can't build one - he lives in an apartment. None of the other nine cabinet ministers questioned was definitely planning a home shelter either, and only two were even considering them. Opposition leader, Pearson has "no plans at present" for a home shelter, nor has Harzen Argue, who complained, "I can't pay for my shelter above ground - how can I pay for one below?"

"Of six mayors and reeves in the Vancouver area, only Mayor Beth Wood of New Westminster has any definite intention of building a shelter."

^{Interview from Vancouver Advertiser}
"On Winnipeg, Mayor Stephen Juba called the shelter idea "really a joke", and a predecessor, George Sharpe, now president of the local chamber of commerce, asked: "Are the cement people mixed up in this?"

"We've advocated a policy of shelters for the last eight years," said Brig. George A. McCarter, B.C.'s OD co-ordinator in Victoria. Will he be building one? No, he's moving into an apartment.

^{No longer pays}
And of course Frem. Bennett is building a shelter 332 miles away from his res. C. Northcote Parkinson, the gentleman who formulated Parkinson's Law, tells us that money spent on civil defence is wasted because it is for the type of preparations that would have been useful only in a previous war.

And how do the American counterparts of the Diefenbakers and the Bennetts see the shelters. Well at least we can say for them they're a little more frank in their appraisal.

Republican

What would Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Mass. do if a warning siren blew? "I would probably just lie down on the sidewalk and pray. I'd rather do that than go into a cellar. The building might collapse on me."

Says General Curtis E. Lemay, air vice-chief of staff. Shelters for the US population of some 180,000,000 would cost about \$20,000,000,000. He favors "reasonable" shelter expenditures but using the bulk of the money for weapons..

And I am afraid, my friends, that when we look to the trade union and CCF leadership we get not much more help. In fact there is quite a noticeable silence on their part on this life and death matter. I would be pleased to hear of some opposition from them to this hideous bomb shelter hoax and on this whole question of imperialism's race to a third world war. *and of the possibility of mobilizing actions for peace*

~~The question of this problem lies in the~~ The question of peace is only going to be solved by the ordinary people of Canada and the US - the working class - we are the only ones who can lead the world out of this morass into which capitalism has thrown it.

And how do we start - we start by mobilizing our class into the struggle against war through every anti war action large and small. From the demand that we black the missile bases in North Bay, Ontario and ~~to the demand that Canada~~

dem *upon* *3/20* We must expose the fallout shelter hoax for what it is at all times whether at a struggle local union meeting or at a meeting of the type which occurred last nite. We must expose and expose and expose the Diefenbaker's war preparations at all times at the same time demanding unilateral disarmament ~~and~~ for Canada and in place of the billions being poured down the drain for arms the money should be spent for houses, medical research, hospitals etc. The national Heart Foundation operates on a modest budget of less than a million dollars. It can't fog ahead the way is necessary because of shortage of research workers and equipment and yet we spend 1 1/2 billion yearly on obsolete military equipment. *program*

Refer to In the CCF and labor constituency organizations which are presently to emerge into an all powerful labor party we must begin the fight immediately to institute into the program of this body these demands.

And this in turn is involved in the struggle to transform the labor party into the kind of a socialist party that will lead to the victory of socialism in Canada. For in my opinion as a revolutionary socialist, marxist the only way to stop this stupid bomb shelter hoax and nuclear annihilation once and for all is through the victory of world socialism.

Wall Street financier and economist James F. Warburg admitted last year before the Society for the Advancement of Management in U.S. that "we are not prepared and are not preparing for peace." This country would be paralyzed by a major depression if actual peace came "before we could even complete plans for dealing with this emergency if a disarmament agreement were reached next Monday the nation's economy would go into a tailspin on Tuesday." Well the Canadian and American people are preparing for are ready for peace and in that direction they are marching so look out Mr. Warburg you may get stepped on. *already back surely*

It shows how out against shelters

(6)

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS(1.) WHO ARE THE REAL WARMONGERS?

All evidence points US

to Wilson
Running tests
 Soviet Union agreed to disarm, stopped nuclear testing whereas US still unmoved won't even agree to reneg on exploding nuclear bombs in Alaska to carve out new harbor, despite Canadian objections.
 Evidence also is fact US pushing nuclear war heads down throats Canadian people through willing aid Diefenbaker.

Soviet Union circle d with US bases

Pre-emptive action - defense is ability to strike first.

To end 1957 US tested 104 nuclear devices, Russia 41 re pollution atmosphere

Br. Defence Minister, Harold Watkinson, Mar, 23/60, that "the full force of Allied nuclear power would be used to repel even a conventional attack."
344 planes - 92
Japan Korea China
Soviet Union
India
France

(2.) PEOPLE APATHETIC?

Ad in paper - three days only 4 legitimate enquiries, 2 jokers

Don't see possibilities whereas see chance doing something good response

Eg. Friday meeting

SEL

Our job show possibilities, push for activity.

(3.) CCF POSITION ON ARMS?

Winch on Bombs

Winch on War heads?----

Get criticism slipping
1. Party - 1st 2nd 3rd
P.C.F. - 1st 2nd 3rd
from capital
Polish
When going to push button
People working in munitions plants
what somewhere else
If they can

CEASE BACKING NATO WAR PACT

The NATO military alliance, whether the CCF should continue to support Canadian participation in it, or cease doing so, is once again before the CCF, meeting in national convention August 9, 10 and 11 in Regina. There are resolutions before the convention from many constituencies, including the Alberta provincial convention, demanding that the CCF insist that Canada break from all commitments to the alliance.

Eleven years ago CCF rank and

file activists across the country were up in arms against the party's national and parliamentary leadership. The CCF top brass were then intent on lining up the party behind Liberal and Tory commitment of the Canadian people to support of NATO. "Without knowledge of the specific terms of the drafted bill . . . over a month in advance of the parliamentary debate on the draft, the top brass of the CCF committed the CCF to absolute support of the

pact without consultation with the membership or rank and file representative bodies," wrote Ross Dowson, in our predecessor **Labor Challenge**, in March, 1949.

CCF ranks, despite the come-on Clause No. 2, which promised economic aid projects, and won the lyrical praise of Mosher-Coldwell-Lewis, knew NATO was a war pact. The 11 years of bolstering up reactionary dictatorships, of planking military bases around the

See **SCRAP NATO**—page 4

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association

81 Queen Street West, Toronto 1, Ont. — EM. 6-1454

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON

Subscriptions 50c a year (12 Issues)

#56-July 1960

Scrap NATO

(Continued from page 1)

globe, piling up nuclear weapons, provocative spy flights, brinkmanship, and threats of pre-emptive war by NATO spokesmen and their chief sponsor, US imperialism, have been convincing proof of the correctness of their opposition and the bankruptcy of the Coldwell-Lewis leadership.

Eleven years ago the provincial council of the BC CCF repudiated the national leadership's support of the NATO alliance—so too did the BC provincial convention. The Ontario CCF Youth refused to go along with it. Fred Tipping resigned as chairman of the Manitoba section, and the Saskatchewan CCF convention slapped the national leadership in the face by not supporting its treacherous stand. Subsequently the CCF brass hammered down the opposition by launching a witch hunt through which it eliminated the Rodney Young's, expelled the revolutionary socialists (the Trotskyists), in Ontario, and many others.

Now the delegates have an opportunity to straighten the record by committing the party to demand Canadian withdrawal from NATO. The national leadership's crime against the CCF, against the Canadian working class and the cause of socialism, cannot be wiped out. Their surrender before the warmongers and their traitorous attack on those who were prepared to fight is largely responsible for the precipitous decline of the CCF to its present sorry state. But the delegates can straighten the record and marshal the forces that can help to assure that the labor party, which is in the wings, enters onto the arena, not as a cold war party, but as a party that can be shaped into a powerful instrument against war.

#56-July 1960

ALTA CCF RALLY GIVES LEAD TO CONVENTION AND NEW PARTY

The August 9, 10 and 11 Regina National CCF Convention, which it appears certain will endorse the new labor party, could well be the site of the most important policy debates that have ever taken place in a CCF national convention. This would be assured if the resolutions passed by the Alberta CCF at its

convention on June 24-25 get a fair hearing—and are not shoved down the agenda to be turned over to the tender mercies of the national council, or sidestepped by the national leadership by some other device as has so often happened.

Pioneer leader and retiring Alberta president, William Irvine, set the tone in his opening address to the hundred-odd delegates and a contingent from the newly organized CCF Youth group. Differentiating himself from the opportunist policies being followed by the national leadership of the CCF, Irvine declared that the flag of our future hope should be mailed to the mast of socialism. "That is the name and that is the philosophy which alone can differentiate ourselves from capitalism."

"Before any real progress can be made toward a new and sane and humane society," he emphasized, "socialism and planning for its establishment must become the tangible expression of the popular will. A decision must ultimately be made by a majority of the people of this nation to bring into being an economy, a social order, and a culture which will provide the means of fulfilling the innate desires of the people for the fullest development of every potentiality of the individual."

He urged that the coming CCF national convention, and following that, the new labor party founding convention, should demand "that both NATO and NORAD be dropped and that we turn to the only role worth playing and the only one we can play, namely the role of peace."

Last May 15, under the shock of the revelation of US penetration of Soviet air space with U2 flights, and in an attempt to face up to the obvious futility of Bomarc bases before Soviet ICBM's, the

CCF national council admitted "Canada's role in NORAD is therefore useless and steps should be taken to terminate the NORAD agreement." Instead of calling for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO war alliance, the council merely urged that "NATO strategy should be reassessed and Canada should reconsider its own role in that organization." But the delegate to the Alberta convention, despite some apparent illusions about the United Nations, clearly call for "Canada's dissociation from NATO and NORAD."

Not only did the Alberta CCF give a lead to a more correct international policy, but they passed four important national policy resolutions for the consideration of both the national CCF convention and the new party convention.

They urged that the new party come out firmly for public ownership, in sharp contradiction to the policy of "mixed economy" that has been foisted onto the party by the Coldwell leadership over the past several years.

The resolution on public ownership declared; "This convention repudiates the idea of a mixed economy as an end to be sought by the CCF and reaffirms its conviction that public ownership . . . is a desirable and necessary means of achieving those economic goals without which a moral, a just and democratic society cannot come into being."

"It is inconceivable," the resolution reads, "that the problems of capitalism which prevent the achievement of the ends sought by the CCF, can be resolved without the use of the instrument of public ownership, applied most especially in resources and basic industries, in banking and credit, and, perhaps most important of all, in the task of extracting from the

NEW PARTY BACKERS SWEEP NFLD CLC

From, just a few years ago, having been the only provincial labor body that failed to endorse the new labor party, the Newfoundland Federation of Labor (CLC) has become a vigorous proponent of independent labor political action.

On July 14, the 87 delegates to the federation's annual convention demonstrated that Premier Smallwood's union-busting drive, which saw the Woodworkers declare outlawed and smashed, was not wasted. They swept out of office four of the five executive officers who had advocated neutrality in the political struggle, including the caretaker president, Steven Neary, described as the leader of the anti-politics faction. Essum Thoms, a 33 year-old railway clerk who is president of the Newfoundland CCF, was elected president of the NFL with 54 votes.

groups of oligopolists, the sole control and abuse of the mass means of communication."

In separate resolutions the convention voted that all credit institutions and direct investment funds be nationalized according to the requirements of a planned economy, and that there be added to the New Party program a policy for "coordination of all national transportation under public ownership, including railway, air lines, highway, water and pipe line carriers."

In a lengthy resolution titled "COLD WAR" CONTEXT, the convention urged the deletion from the proposed new party program of three sections, the sole motivation of which was a rehash of capitalist anti-Soviet, anti-China propaganda; not need in defense of the interests of the working people or opposition to capitalism. The resolution urged a rewriting of these sections and stated that "in the opinion of this convention, New Party statements of policy and program should be issued on their own merits and neither excused or bolstered by reference to cold war created hates, fears and competition."

Ban the Bomb Painter Fined Action Wins Cmttee Support

While a Toronto magistrate ordered Ernest Tate to pay \$50 for painting the words Ban The Bomb on the Queen's Park demonstration fall-out shelter, David Gauthier, vice chairman of the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, and W. G. Dean of the University of Toronto Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, publicly defend his action.

tection in a nuclear war" and that he did not think Tate was morally guilty of the charge of malicious damage. He felt there was moral justification for the act. Gauthier said, while his committee was not recommending that its supporters paint anti-war slogans on buildings, "the spirit of Tate's action was in no way malicious."

The government's "Blue print for Survival" and civil defence projects, designed to foster the idea that we can survive an H Bomb war and thus underwrite the government's war-making policies, are meeting no response from the public. Metro authorities are already talking about how to handle citizens who defy their orders to take cover during the mass air raid drills beginning September. They want to enforce penalties from \$10 to \$500, or up to three months in jail, but there is no legislation empowering them to do so.



Ernest Tate

Tate, who was represented by the eminent civil rights lawyer and national treasurer of the CCF, Andrew Brewin, defended his action in the court. From the evidence of such scientists as Linus

Pauling, he said, the shelter was no protection, in fact, he felt it misled Canadians into believing they could survive nuclear war.

Dean said that "there is no pro-



Every Saturday for the past month the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Educational League and friends, have been picketting the demonstration fall-out shelter at Queen's Park, Toronto. Their placards condemn the shelter as part of the government's psychological preparation of the people for war, demand No Nuclear Arms in Canada, etc.

#56 - July 1960

Press Campaigners Report on Ontario Lap of Ntl Tour

This is the first report of a campaign four young socialists are making across Canada. They have just completed the stretch that took them through the lumber and mining towns of Northern Ontario on the way to the coast. (Editor)

By **JOE ROSENBLATT**

Scores of CCFers, trade union activists, and members of the Communist party, as well as ex-members, have been seen. Old acquaintances made on the previous tour by the Socialist Educational League have been strengthened and consolidated in this year's tour. Knocking on doors, promoting subscriptions to the **Vanguard**, we found a genuine response from newly awakening layers to the new labor party. In the town of Kapuskasing, where the woodworkers local union has been conducting classes on the labor party, the response to the new party has been even deeper.

Kapuskasing workers employed in the mill make a basic wage of around \$2.00 an hour and this expresses itself in the conditions in the town. Quite a contrast to such areas as Kirkland Lake, where the basic wage is much lower (about 75 cents) and housing is depressed. Kapuskasing stands out like an oasis to the rising unemployment and the creeping depression effecting some areas of Southern Ontario.

In the town of Orillia, the steelworkers are fighting the Otaco bosses who are threatening to close the plant down and move away. The same device is being used by labor-hater Kaufman in Kitchener who is dead against a closed shop and has been successful so far in the past 23 years in refusing to even sign a union contract.

In towns like Welland and St. Catharines, out of every five doors we knocked on, one bread-earner is unemployed. It was in such areas in Southern Ontario that we got the strongest response to the labor party. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, political action becomes a must to unemployed bread earners. But the labor party is only a word to hundreds of thousands of workers. Will the planners of the new party meet the challenge and do battle against unemployment by taking up the issue of the shorter work week?

The employers are letting their feelers out in the labor movement to find out if they can weaken the organized labor movement to the point where trade unionism's voice and fighting power is rendered impotent. The bosses are watching the fight of rubber workers in Kit-

chener, teamsters in Barrie, and the steel workers in Orillia, for future planned action against the Canadian labor movement.

If there is no leadership given now, the labor party will become a nebulous matter, a pipe dream to the mass of the working people, who will revert back to supporting Liberal candidates.

The four socialist trail blazers are playing their role in getting rank and file unionists, housewives behind the new party. We are doing this first and foremost by promoting the **VANGUARD**. At the Lakehead we managed to add some 200 new subscribers to the paper. We also held a public meeting, the first the Trotskyist movement has ever held here, which was moderately successful in attracting the more serious elements who want to discuss the type of leadership and program that the new party must have to come to grips with and solve the problems of the Canadian working class.

Not only do we have to contend with the confusion and opposition to the labor party of politically backward workers, but those elements of the working class who call themselves the "vanguard of the working class." The Communist Party trade union activists are opposing the labor party.

The Communist Party supports the right-wing Winnipeg resolution which called for a liberal-minded and broadly-based people's party, not a labor party. The truth of the matter is that the CP holds the concept of putting pressure to bear on Diefenbaker, hoping for a change in the policy of the Tory government away from the American state department in the direction of neutralism. The people's party is visualized as the vehicle to bring pressure to bear on Diefenbaker. The Communist Party has no confidence in the working class to defeat Wall Street's war plans, but banks its hopes on "peace loving capitalists" to bring about peace.

The task before the socialists is to help build the party—to participate in this great experience of the class. They will fight to give the party a militant anti-capitalist policy. There the battle with the misleaders of labor will be joined and the forces forged to win a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

Aug 9/60

Dear Jerry & Ruth

Pushed 200 copies into the mail box just a few minutes ago — also a pack of sub blanks.

- ① Yes we need an article on the BC elections — an extensive article by our standards — say 4 pages reporting the news and giving our position to the electorate — This is an important election from a national point of view

Yes we intend to cover the Congo & the UN in this issue. Bigon Reginald CCF Convention

Not sure just what we will do on the shelter question. Might report a meeting held here last night where Ernie had the only good thing to say & which will allow us to expose the pacifist line — could use your clippings on the big meeting also in this respect.

Think you had better send us the Vancouver stuff on ~~radio~~ the shelter

- ② But how about a report on the SIC meetings & Ruth House — or even Stanley PK and Ritters & Brown.

On second thought Ruttering + Brown
may be best, Identifies us with
the best in the CCF and R+B
with US ~~the~~

Would be good if material could
be here say Aug 15 or 16th - giving
you next week end

Will have one document out in a
few days

the best
Rus

Phone Malcolm and talk over ~~the~~
these ideas with him + Tell him I
dropped a hurried line asking
you to do so

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

TWIN CITIES BRANCH

704 Hennepin Ave. 240

Minneapolis 3, Minn.

FEderal 2-7781

gw
August 25, 1960

Tom Kerry
New York City

Dear Tom,

This is is response to your letter on the projected visits of the Canadian Vanguard tour to some of our Northern branches.

The tour in this area for a public meeting for the party on the question of the Canadian Labor Party would not be desirable at this time because we have just had an excellent meeting on that subject with Ken Sutherland as the speaker. In addition he spoke at our branch meeting giving us rather complete information that he could not present at the public meeting.

However, it would be worthwhile for us to have the comrades on tour stop here on their way back to give the branch an internal report on their tour as well as their national conference. The comrades here are very stimulated by the Canadian Labor Party developments and very interested in any new developments that take place. Ken's visit also stimulated an interest in the work of our Canadian comrades per se and so a visit after a tour of Canada would be very good.

We do have Myra coming here for Oct. 13, 14, 15, so that a visit during that time and the preceeding week would not be desirable. However, if they can get here for any other branch meeting night, which are Wednesdays Oct. 5, 19, 26, it would fit in well with our tour schedules. If necessary we can shift branch nights from Wednesday to accomodate their visit.

If they can spend a few days here, we have the possibility of getting them before the University of Minnesota on the Canadian Labor Party development. It is almost certain that we could get the University Socialist club to sponsor a meeting for them and we might possible be able to arrange a meeting for them under official auspices of the University's Student programing committee which features regular daily programs during the lunch hour attended by several hundred students.

We will make necessary arrangements to put them up and help on their gas problem. We would like to know ahead of time about their visit especially if we are to arrange something at the U. of M. campus.

Comradely yours,

Carl Feingold
Carl Feingold, Organizer

CC: Ross

September 6, 1960

Dear Comrade Kerry;

We were happy to receive your letter a while back to the effect that you would accept our nominee to the school. Received your September 1 letter to the effect that nominations from your branches had to be in by September 13. While probably this does not apply to us I am sending you some information on our nominee anyway as you will probably want it sooner or later.

~~Our~~ The nominee we have in mind is on our tour. He has expressed a strong desire to go to the school, knows all about it, the privilege and the obligations, as he has been talking with our last student who is also on the tour at great length about it. I have talked with responsible and leading comrades about his going and they are agreed that he is good material. There are only a few loose ends to be tied up.

He is about 20 year old. Been in the movement about 3 years. I have worked closely with him about a year. He is a serious and devoted comrade, prepared to devote all his time to the movement. He probably has his senior matriculation--5 years high school. He has an IBM course under his belt....he headed the class. Interested in electronics. Should be handy around the school. A real extrovert and could become a popular and effective public spokesman of our views.

fraternally

re: Cliff S. (Cotton)

Ross Dowson

YOUTH WORK
by
Strong & Bannon

Resulting from the events of the immediate past period, we see a changing situation in the youth arena in Canada, particularly on the campuses, which presents us with much wider opportunities for work than we have had for some time. The crisis which faces the Canadian economy this winter will be a favourable atmosphere for the setting up of a reconstituted CCF youth or new Labor Party youth movement.

In conjunction with this there is a growing uneasiness on the campuses about Canada's military alliances. There is also great concern about the threat of nuclear annihilation. The latter is manifested in the growth of the anti-war movement, particularly on the campuses.

In Toronto, on the U of T campus, an expression of this is the organization of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This is the group that, at a time of the year when students are scattered, organized a number of successful open-air public meetings, in the parks, attracting from one to three hundred people at each. The key people in this were instrumental in launching the North Bay motorcade against the Bonarc, and a picket line around the French Consulate protesting the Sahara A-test. The YSA has participated effectively in all these projects. These activities indicate the relatively serious character of the group.

Most of the people in this formation are politically inexperienced and have a completely empirical approach to most questions. It is important to realize that this organization is merely in the process of formation, that it is very loose organizationally, and that it has no fixed positions. It would be more accurate to call this group anti-war than pacifist, even while at this stage it has a pacifist, non-class, non-political line. The leading committee is composed of CCFers, "unofficial" representatives of the off-campus Stalinist YCL, campus CP group, independent "radicals", and ourselves, and minor representatives from Liberals, Tories, Etc. All the other tendencies at this stage, with the Stalinists in the forefront, unreservedly embrace the "no politics" line. We are the only opposition to this. The most consistent supporters of the present position are the Stalinists.

On the committee we have pushed for including parts of our transitional demands in the program. We were successful in having unilateral disarmament adopted as part of a proposed charter. In the face of a fetish of respectability that exists, we have succeeded in winning support of some key people for demanding withdrawal of Canada from NATO. They have agreed to hold a public debate on this issue. We have made the case for the referendum on nuclear arms in Canada. We consider that this is one of the most important demands. We believe that only the socialist program can bring peace; that the only peace there will be, will be under socialism. Furthermore, we believe that the peace organizations will only meet with success in so far as they adopt the socialist platform.

We approach the CUCND recognizing it at its present stage of development and try to inject into it our anti-war program. This program takes this movement at its present stage, by implication, to a socialist position. These slogans call into question, by their nature, the very existence of the capitalist system.

To make conditional our support of the CUCND the adoption of the socialist program would be, in our opinion, sectarian. Because of the prejudice against us, we have been forced to formally, when speaking at their public meetings, adopt their minimum program. This, along with non-distribution of our papers at their functions, was conditional to membership on the committee. The concession regarding the paper is temporary, depending on whether our views can be made known in other ways or not. We are the only extra-campus group to have full representation on the committee.

The CUCND has possibilities of becoming a mass student organization. It exists in the two Montreal universities and has contact with other campuses. It has plans this fall, initiated by us, to set up equivalent high school groups and to open a mass membership drive.

The socialist youth have the responsibility to assure that the energy of this movement is not dissipated by the bankrupt ideologies of Stalinist or pacifism.

Along with this anti-war development, though not so concretely materialized, is the perspective of a labor party youth movement. It must be assumed that with the formation of the new Labor Party, the youth movement will be a fact. Already it exists in embryo in so far as the CCF in the immediate past period has succeeded in reconstituting its youth.

From a long-term point of view, this is unquestionably our main arena of work, and our principal orientation. It is highly probable since most of the Labor party youth will be students, that this work will be integrated with the work of the anti-war front.

We have no reason to think that there is any contradiction here. already it is evident that the anti-war struggle will be ^{one} of the main issues in the Labor party and its youth. It is symptomatic that our comrades on tour received the most favourable and unprejudiced audience among the CCF youth. This was demonstrated in Winnipeg, Edmonton and Regina and it is very significant to note the excellent role the CCF youth played in defeating the right wing on NATO.

In considering our Labor party youth work, it is essential that we attempt to establish an organ in which to put forward our ideas, even if only a mimeographed bulletin at the start. This will assure us of maintaining our identity as a legitimate tendency in the Labor youth.

We believe that it is necessary at this stage that we maintain our organization inside, or outside the LP youth. In working in this field, as in all fields, it is essential to establish fractions. This will be our main immediate aim.

We should state at this point that we have some excellent contacts in this field, a number of whom have participated in YSA - sponsored activities. There is a good possibility that we can create a nucleus of support for our direct participation in the LP youth.

Considering the SEL's resources and the situation we are confronted with, the assigning of comrades to this work has met with reasonable success. We have a total of fourteen members in good standing, six of whom are party members.

In our opinion, the youth group must be organizationally and programmatically independent of the party. We believe the youth should arrive at political positions through the particular question being introduced, discussed, and voted on by a majority of the youth.

Our comrades, to retain the integrity of the YSA, should always conduct themselves in this light. While on a number of questions it is not practical to insist on complete independence, since the YSA is not a spontaneous development, but is the creation of the SEL, to meet an existing situation, there will be an overlapping and supplementing of each other's work. With the growth of the YSA, this will become less of a factor, though we must always avoid even the appearance of domination.

Historically it has been demonstrated that no socialist youth organization can stand alone, politically or otherwise. The YSA is no exception. In the first period, the YSA in fact was the SEL's youth. Now, with recruits and contacts gained from our picket lines and other activities, including public meetings, the membership is beginning to broaden.

The YSA's conditions for membership are not, and cannot be, as stringent as the party's. We recruit on the basis that a person generally agrees with our program insofar as he or she understands it. If a person agrees generally with our ideas and is willing to participate to the best of his or her ability, he should be considered a candidate for membership.

The youth group is in the process of drawing up a constitution and a program. It is now being discussed and will be definitely decided upon when the group's forces are complemented by the comrades on the tour following the convention.

To date the YSA exists only in Toronto. Every effort must be made in the immediate future to expand our connections into other areas of the country.

To a large degree the YSA has been a local of the American YSA. We retain fraternal membership status in the MS organization, and pay dues on a full membership basis. We believe that one of our problems is to imitate, without having the equivalent experience, our American comrades. The YSA should be constituted as a distinct Canadian group with a program oriented specifically to the needs of the youth of the country. This in no way contradicts the YSA's international character or its relationship with its co-thinkers elsewhere.

We think that the YSA has considerable opportunities to expand and develop in the coming period along the lines of the possibilities we have shown in this document. If it fails to do so it will not be due to objective conditions. We urge the convention to give serious attention to this work.

September 14, 1960

YOUTH REPORT

By Joe Black

The need to build a revolutionary socialist youth league across Canada is a matter that must be given considerable attention to by the Trotskyists. A party that cannot attract a strong segment of society, the youth, is a movement that will not go far. Movements such as the CCF and the Communist Party while they need the youth either for an election machine or like the CP to build a vigorous Stalinist cadre to replenish the movement from time to time, have a deadly fear of the youth. The national council of the CCF had to give way to the CCYM and allow the youth representation at the last national CCF convention at Regina. They may have regretted this later when the CCF youth vigorously helped defeat the NATO resolution and the Coldwell - Douglas team.

In the United States the Negro college youth are spearheading a struggle against segregation. The conservative NAACP are tail-ending this development, merely giving legal aid to the class struggle victims. In Japan, Korea and Turkey the youth have acted as the vanguard in their respective countries in leading the struggle. This goes to show the importance of the youth question. The youth are critical. Perhaps this is why the US Stalinists dissolved their youth league years back.

In Toronto the young SELers have been attempting to build an independent revolutionary socialist youth group that has no formal ties with the SEL but is ideologically in agreement with the movement. We are meeting with some success in this field. The youth comrades are actively engaged at this time in the anti-war youth movement. Comrade Strong has been given a position on the Toronto Committee (university) for Nuclear Disarmament. At present the majority of the leaders of the CND are opportunistically inclined with their supra-class pacifist position on war which has tied the revolutionary socialists up momentarily because the whole campaign is directed onto an apolitical plane. To raise political demands, eg. denouncing the Tories etc. is taboo with the CCF-inspired leadership. Now the reformist gang is laying down ultimatums such as we cannot sell the YOUNG SOCIALIST at the peace rallies. They are in essence trying to make our comrades appear as "disruptive" etc. Now they have an ally - the Stalinist youth who are making connections with the new current that is developing. We are now for the first time in many years going to meet the Stalinist youth in our work in the youth field. This is an opportune time to move in on their youth group with our ideas.

Aside from this field, we have carried on considerable activity in promoting the YOUNG SOCIALIST on the campus. We have sold hundreds of copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST on the Toronto University campus. We even approached certain high schools we knew had some promise and sold copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST there with considerable success. The biggest problem we have in the youth field is the problem of getting a nucleus of a Trotskyist faction on the campus. As of yet we have not made contact with anyone on the campus that we can get into the YSA or even the type that will work closely with us on the campus. So we appear as interlopers to our political opponents. This must be remedied and I think should be an objective of the YSA.

Another problem concerns cohesion. The problem in the past was that we did not have an organization with dues, regular meetings etc. The YSA met once in a while, orientating itself to the youth who could only come around once in a while. Now this has been remedied. We have a regular meeting hall, dues are paid regularly and we are getting this "cohesion". We have about twelve members. Recruiting to the YSA has been very slow but the times haven't been the most favourable. Now the objective situation is arising, fertile grounds are opening up for recruiting youth to the YSA.

The third objective of course will be a membership drive. Through our work in the anti-war field, where we played a big hand in organizing the motorcade of Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa students which picketed the Bomarc bases at North Bay, we have established real contact with the better elements of the CCF youth on the campus and even in the high schools. We have neutralized a lot of prejudice against Trotskyism on the part of young CCFers by our work on the motorcade. This fall the YSA will have the perspective of moving in on the campus life and making Trotskyism a powerful factor on the campus body politic.

Another area of work in the past was the picketing of Woolworths, a solidarity demonstration with the Negro sit-ins of the south which the YSA (Toronto) organized. Woolworths was picketed about five Saturdays in a row. The first picket demonstration resulted in mobilizing about twenty high school youth (mostly CCF youth who are sympathetic to us) on the line. This was an achievement. These young people had never been on a picket line and it took a lot of nerve to join us. The fact that we kept the picket line going for five Saturdays was a tremendous achievement. Now the YSA with the aid of the SEL is picketing the bomb shelter - another achievement in my opinion. This picketing did much to propel the student anti-war drive forward in Toronto.

I think I have illustrated the need for building a youth movement. In Vancouver the comrades must strike off a comrade to examine the possibilities of building a YSA in Vancouver. Certainly attention must be given to the young CCFers at the University of British Columbia for work in the NPY. An organization of a YSA in Vancouver would be a boon to building a national revolutionary socialist youth movement in Canada. Last April the YSA conducted a tour to Ottawa and Montreal campuses, and we are glad to report that there exist some possibilities of organizing a nucleus of a YSA in Montreal (McGill campus). I ask the comrades to give the youth question some attention and open discussion on this.

September 15, 1960

first edition

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The VANCOUVER SUN: Wed., Sept. 28, 1960 Post Office Department, Ottawa.
Authorized as second class mail.



GETTING HER POINT ACROSS, Mrs. Ruth Bullock, of 354 West Sixteenth, North Vancouver, tells G. A. McCarter, provincial co-ordinator of civil defence,

what she thinks about nuclear Government-approved shelter war house lawn today.—George Dias

shelters.
on court-

Young Socialists Picket A-Shelter

Toronto Young Socialist Alliance staged a protest picket Saturday at the recently erected atomic bomb shelter at Queen's Park.

About 15 carried signs claiming there is no defense against atomic war.

"The government is trying

to create an atmosphere of war with these family shelters," said organizer John Wilson.

The Young Socialist Alliance, with offices on Queen st. w., was formed here a year ago and is affiliated with U.S. branches.

July 4/60 Tely

CCF Convention Demands Canada Break from NATO Military Pact

The War
Vancouver

By ALAN HARRIS

The delegates to the last national convention of the CCF committed the convention, and thus made an appeal to the people of Canada and the founding convention of the new party, to fight to break Canada from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. After a prolonged and sharp conflict with the entire leadership of the party, they voted 85 to 72 for a resolution which in part declared that "Since NATO has become a purely military organization, Canada should immediately withdraw from NATO..."

In order to deal with this crucial question, which hit the floor at about 3:30 on the final day, the delegates were compelled to sit without a break until 7 p.m. Even then the debate was constantly disrupted by elections of officers, with MLA and former Ontario provincial secretary Ken Bryden attempting to get the whole matter tabled for "lack of time."

In only a matter of hours after it took its stand, the newly elected national leader, Hazen Argue, repudiated the convention in a statement over a Regina TV broadcast that he did not consider the resolution binding, but merely a guide, as the national council had not had time to work out a policy on it.

But the delegates made their views clear and unmistakable, and laid the foundations for a struggle to win the new party to an anti-war policy at its founding convention next year.

The CCF top brass did everything it could to block the rank and file, to cut out of the international resolution the clause which called for immediate withdrawal from NATO. When the convention broke up into panels, they concentrated their forces on the one dealing with international policy. Francis Eady, president of the Toronto and District CCF Council, moved to cut the sentence out of the resolution and substitute one that would urge amendments to the treaty to stress economic co-operation as well as what he referred to as "military co-ordination."

Winnipeg delegate Howard Pawley questioned as to how, what is essentially a military pact, could be reformed into its opposite—an economic plan. Alistair Stewart, who as an MP supported the pact, tried to honey-coat continued support of NATO by suggesting that, while it had been originally correct to support it, times had changed. It should be reviewed, but Canada should stay in it until this was done; give NATO one more chance, he appealed. President of the Quebec section, Harry Pope, even went further to soften-up the anti-

war forces by suggesting agreement on de-atomization of NATO and withdrawal from NATO—six months from now—if no review of its character were made.

B.C. delegate Dorothy Steeves attempted to shame the leadership with the observation that the CCF was tailing the well-known bourgeois journalist, Minnie. Back in

1949, in defiance of the national leadership, the B.C. section went on record as opposing the pact. She stated that the CCF should never have supported it. Gary Perly (Toronto-Broadview) scored both Pope and Stewart. NATO has had not one, but 200 chances, he said. Bringing a series of quotations by U.S. government and military figures urging pre-emptive war, to the attention of the delegates, he stressed that Canada should not get tied up with

See CCF RANKS—page 4

CCF Ranks Demand Canada Break from NATO Pact

(Continued from page 1)

American imperialism and should not support NATO, as it was a pure and simple military organization.

Several delegates, including Grace McInnis and the Saskatchewan minister of health, talked in terms of fighting a communist threat, not through NATO but the UN, and for a return to the pacifist policies of the party's founder, J. S. Woodsworth. National council member Frank Scott, while effectively ridiculing those who talk in terms of pacifism and at the same time, as a substitute to a NATO police force urge a UN police force, claimed that withdrawal from NATO would be an irresponsible act. He held out the hope that U.S. influence in NATO was declining, with Macmillan and de Gaulle intervening to change its character.

When the panel's recommendation that Canada withdraw from NATO hit the convention floor, just a few hours prior to scheduled adjournment, the top brass made every effort to defeat it. Eady made the same amendment he proposed in the panel. With their failure to pass the amendment Pope placed another which was essentially the same. In the main the debate was carried by youth,

such as Jim Hardy of Regina, Daniel of Ottawa West, who challenged how those who claim to oppose nuclear armament can support NATO, whose strategy is based on nuclear arms, and Perly of Toronto, who ridiculed those who talk about extending its economic aid clauses when it was with just such empty clauses acceptance of the pact was put over in the first place.

The Saskatchewan section, just a couple of weeks prior to this assembly, went on record as favoring unilateral disarmament, cessation of all arms expenditures, withdrawal from NATO, dismantling of all U.S. bases and removal of all U.S. service personnel from Canada, and immediate withdrawal of Canadian forces from Europe. But Premier Douglas, the president of that section, in direct opposition to its stand, entered into the debate against the key sentence. He suggested that the resolution was some kind of appeasement of the Soviet Union which would endanger the lives of the German Social Democrats. What would Willie Brandt think if this resolution were passed, he queried? The red-baiting of the brass opened the door for one delegate to dare to challenge which side the CCF was on—the side of Khrushchov and Tim Buck?

As the question was called, Pope urgently appealed to the chair to bring in delegates from the corridors. While less than half the delegates voted, the majority voted for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance. In defiance of the entire leadership, the convention was put on record. Now this policy has to be implemented.

#57-Sept. 1960

Delegates Unanimous in Support of Labor Party

The last major act preparatory to the launching of the new labor party next year, was carried out at Regina last month. Some 329 delegates attending the 16th national convention of the CCF voted unanimously to join forces with the Canadian Labor Congress to launch the new labor party.

But by so doing they also closed the book which recorded some 27 years of disappointment and frustration of the hopes of hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers and working farmers. This was the last convention of the CCF, which was launched in Regina in 1933 with the declared intention to "eradicate capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning," and committed to "stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars." But under the Coldwell-Lewis leadership it supported the second imperialist World War, and finally, at its 1956 convention, succumbed to a policy of peaceful co-existence with capitalism, now designated by the leadership as a tolerable system.

Of course it wasn't presented that way to the delegates at all, by the CCF national leadership. There was not even an effort made to take a balance sheet of the CCF experience, to examine why the CCF had failed. What was in reality a wake, was characterized by Coldwell as a rejuvenation of the movement.

Ironically, the delegates were regaled by a speech from the national president, David Lewis, the chief prosecutor and executioner of the socialist wing of the movement, about devotion and loyalty of socialists, not to persons and institutions, but to principles.

And should anyone have any last lingering hopes that the CCF

brass were going into the new party as a force for socialism they were quickly deprived of that illusion by Saskatchewan's Premier T. C. Douglas.

Douglas went out of his way to attack Marxism and in particular its concept, proven many times over, that capitalism is a system of crises. According to him, capitalism has adjusted itself to changing circumstances, with the CCF playing no small role in making it work. Sensing that, if this were true, the CCF and the new party would be deprived of any meaningful perspective, he asked: Have we any reason for existence—have all the battles been won? After outlining some shortcomings, he revealed that the basic weaknesses of "managed capitalism" are not economic, but moral and spiritual.

The only dark cloud on the horizon that he could see is the phenomenal achievement of the planned economy of the USSR, which he warned threatens havoc for "us" in the world markets, and tragedy of tragedies, has a powerful appeal to the "uncommitted countries." Let us, he admonished the delegates, not spend too much time arguing over social instruments, like nationalization, planned economy, socialization.

Although the leadership was not challenged on any of these counts, the convention was by no means a passive affair. While much has been made of the delegates' rejection of the national council's plans with regards to leadership, described variously as a rebellion and even a revolution, much more important was their struggle over international policy. After a tense conflict with the top brass, the delegates, with the youth playing an important role, committed the party to the position that "Canada should immediately withdraw from NATO," since it "is purely a military organization."

The first and last leadership struggle in the CCF in its 27 years of existence, was brought on by the decision of caretaker national leader M. J. Coldwell not to accept the post, and the subsequent recommendation by the 50-man national

council that, with the new party convention only 10 months away, the post of national CCF leader be abolished. They suggested that the leader of the CCF parliamentary caucus, Hazen Argue, be named house leader, with authority to speak for the party outside of parliament.

While the national council's recommendation was snowed under by a 10 to 1 vote, with Argue running away with the post by acclamation, it was more a conflict between the CCF executive and the parliamentary caucus than between any right or left tendencies. Indeed, the opposition to the national council on this matter contained many widely diverse and contradictory tendencies. In sharp contrast to the struggle over international policy, which found the leadership solidly lined up against the delegates, this question found the leadership split down the middle.

Some delegates, recalling with Manitoba delegate Hans Fries, how in 1956 the Winnipeg Declaration was jammed through in the last minute as an amendment to the constitution, opposed this last-minute amendment as a matter of principle. Some farm delegates—Saskatchewan made up one-third of the representation—influenced by the boss-inspired anti-labor drive, have grave misgivings about the weight that labor will have in the new party. Others, frightened that the trade union brass may in some way be even more right wing than the present CCF leadership, hoped by building up Argue as national leader, to strengthen the party in its negotiations with the unions.

Argue, in his major speech to the convention, must have certainly destroyed any such illusion when he termed himself forthrightly as representing the farm wing, and discounted the need to nationalize the present holdings of monopoly capitalism in favor of developing new projects under public ownership.

The only tight bloc, and the most vocal opposition to the national council's amendment, was the CCF parliamentary caucus. CCF MP Murdo Martin threatened the con-

New Party Program Discussion Buried by Leadership Conflict

(Continued from page 1)

vention that "if the deal goes through to make Argue party leader we will have to consider our whole position in relation to the party." MP Regier attempted to blackmail the party by threatening to sit in the commons as an independent.

Former MP Alistair Stewart, rumored to be a contestant for the post of national leader, labelled the national council proposition as "a piece of insolence." He saw it as a restriction on the MP's who for decades have been the real policy-makers of the party and have on many occasions arrogantly flouted national convention decisions as in the case of their voting the rearmament of the old enemies of the German people. He saw it as setting the precedent of making the appointment of a CCF commons leader a decision of a national convention, and not the CCF MP's themselves.

Of all the vital questions confronting the delegates, the key question of the program of the new party, whether the CCF element should press for a policy of nationalization of the basic means of production, etc., etc., the only important one that came before the delegates was international policy. The many excellent resolutions passed by the Alberta section, some of them dealing specifically with the program of the new party as outlined in the booklet being circulated by the New Party Committee, were tabled and left to the tender mercies of the incoming national council.

As the discussion on the leadership question dragged out, delegate Jack Mateer (Windsor) moved that the vote be called so that the policy resolutions could be discussed; but to no effect. During the series of platitudinous orations on the new party, Saskatchewan delegate Joan Cathers challenged that we, the rank and file of the CCF, have not determined policy, but have been entertained—the convention should have spent

more time discussing what the new party should be.

The closest to a discussion on the policy and constitution of the new party was an answer to B.C. delegate Dorothy Steeves, who protested a national council resolution that all decisions in this area be in the form merely of recommendations to the national council. This was clarified by the leadership to mean that they be in the form of instructions to the national council, binding on the national council. But of course there was no time allotted to give such instructions.

As the resolutions were tabled, BC delegate Colin Cameron expressed the hope that the new party leadership will realize that a planned socialist economy, to replace the capitalist society we live in today, must be the program of the new party. Vain hope!

Despite the rank and file's rout of the national council on the leadership question, and their head-on clash with them in the struggle to commit the party to withdrawal from the North Atlantic military alliance, the old leadership was swept back into office. The only significant contests were Zaplitney's attempt to take the national presidency from Lewis, and Fisher's attempt to defeat Knowles for vice-president. These two extreme right wingers were defeated—Zaplitney by a vote of 78 to 195. The old leadership, which disemboweled the CCF, is taking the remnant into the new party.

The CCF is dead! Long live the new party!

This convention made it transparently clear that the struggle to give the new party a fighting anti-capitalist policy will bring the militants head-long up against the misleaders of labor, both the old CCF gang and the trade union bureaucracy. A new leadership will have to be forged in order to win a socialist Canada.

Across the West with Vanguard Trailblazers

Thirty-two people turned out to the Edmonton meeting called by the VANGUARD Trailblazers just prior to their moving on to Calgary and the West Coast. Attendance-wise, so far, this has been the most successful of the meetings that they have held over the past month at key Prairie cities to discuss the

new labor party—why all workers should join it, the problem of leadership, and the kind of program needed.

The audience, largely left-wing CCFers, the core of the Edmonton CCF youth, and unattached workers—five or six of whom immediately took subscriptions to the Vanguard, two promptly joining the CCF—stayed long after the main address. The stimulating discussion was mostly centered around the question of nationalization and the fight to write it into the new party program.

Speaking on behalf of the Socialist Educational League, Alan Harris stressed the need for all socialists to get into the party to fight for a socialist policy, to unify their own ranks, and to fight to replace the present reformist leadership with a socialist leadership. The left must establish its right to caucus and set up its own organizations in the new party on the same basis that the right has long sustained its organizations—its trade union caucuses and institutions such as the Woodsworth Foundations, etc.

The socialists must have the

right to publish their own press such as the Vanguard, which since its inception has attempted to voice the views of the left. The official CCF and trade union press has long been in the hands of the right wing, he pointed out.

The Trailblazers were warmly received by Edmonton CCFers, whom they found to have a clearer understanding than most sections of the party of the problems confronting the Canadian people. One of the quartet attributes this to the good influence of William Irvine and the conservative, even reactionary, climate in Alberta. "Many of them accept the fact that we revolutionary socialists should not only be in the new party but that we have a legitimate claim to be there." And all CCFers we met consider the new party to be not at all a swing to the right but a promising new development. A long-time supporter of the Vanguard has played a big role in organizing half a dozen new party clubs here.

Some former activists in the CP have moved to the right since we met them on the tour of two years ago. And as for long-time Vanguard

boosters in Edmonton area, in Lloydminster, just as in Saskatoon and Winnipeg, we find their morale to be high. We were enthusiastically greeted—their hospitality knew no limits.

While in Regina the Trailblazers covered both the CCF and the CCF Youth national conventions, did extensive door-to-door subscription work, and held another public meeting on behalf of the SEL. At the convention they met several delegates who were particularly interested in obtaining Marxist literature. One youthful delegate told them that his father had long been accused of being a Trotskyist for his opposition to the CCF leadership, but that he had never actually met one or seen their press. The Trailblazers reported at the time, while it proved to be smaller than the Edmonton meeting, that "the Regina meeting is possibly the best yet." The discussion was on a high plane—several of the audience were unattached socialists.

At Winnipeg, despite the oppressive heat and the long week-end, 13 people turned up at the CCF Hall to hear what the Vanguard spokesmen had to say. This small attendance was well compensated for by a lively discussion and question period. One of the main points

stressed was that the influence of the trade union brass and the flooding of inexperienced workers into the new party is not at all a bad thing, as some CCFers think.

If the militants conduct themselves correctly, in the light of new experiences with the bosses, these workers will learn how to fight and will do battle with the bureaucracy, replacing it with a new leadership. The CCF does not now have this support and for this reason was unable to rally forces against B.C.'s Bill 43 and the Ontario anti-labor laws—besides the CCF has long now dropped its socialist perspective.

While canvassing door to door with the Vanguard in Moose Jaw, the Trailblazers were stopped by the police. The city fathers have apparently placed a by-law on the books which bars canvassing without a permit, which of course can be readily obtained if you can afford to lay out the money. The Brandon packinghouse workers, who have had their own experiences with police, welcomed us. Shortage of funds didn't stop almost a dozen down at the strike headquarters from putting out the money for a Vanguard sub and, as a joke, subscribing on behalf of the manager too.

Effective counter-demonstration by Vancouver militants

HITS OPENING OF CD SHELTER HOAX

Victory has been won by the friends and supporters of the Socialist Forum-Young Socialist Alliance weekly picket protesting the fallout shelter on Vancouver's court house lawn. On October 15 picketers found the shelter locked and unavailable for public inspection. The shelter was no longer there on October 17. It had been dismantled and carted away.

VANCOUVER—A protest demonstration completely shattered the effect of a ceremony addressed by leading Social Credit government figures officially opening a model fall-out shelter here on September 28. The structure had been erected on

the court house lawn by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, to federal government specifications, as a model for citizens to duplicate.

Some 75 pickets turned out to demonstrate against the shelter. They held on high signs declaring: "We refuse to be indoctrinated for war." "Millions for War—Why not

for Peace," and demanding "No Nuclear Arms in Canada" and "Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms."

Chanting "Ban the Bomb," and "There is no Defence," they drowned out BC provincial secretary Wesley Black as he attempted to speak over a microphone hooked up to a major radio network. Many

passers-by gave shouts of encouragement and sympathy to the demonstrators.

When Mrs. Ruth Bullock left the line for a few minutes to tell provincial Civil Defense Co-ordinator G. A. McCarter what she thought about the shelters, a CBC television camera picked up the debate. That night TV viewers across the country watched a stuttering official grasping for answers to her explosive questions and charges. Her query as to how people could survive the shower of fallout that leading scientists claim would remain after they left the shelters, was left unanswered. So, too, was her statement that all vegetation would be inedible due to extreme

contamination.

"This is a most contemptible hoax," she exclaimed. "It's psychological preparation for World War III."

Another picketer, Mrs. Carson Shugalo, told a VANCOUVER SUN reporter "I came here personally because I feel this silly structure is just another promotion for war, not a deterrent." She called it a barbecue pit that a stick of dynamite could destroy.

Mr. Black, at a luncheon meeting that followed the official opening ceremony, is reported in the Province to have made the absurd statement that the shelters are of use in an actual target area, and that to say they are of no use is to "wilfully mislead the civilian population."

A leaflet distributed by the Socialist Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance, and gladly received by friendly passers-by, pointed out that many leading scientists, Linus Pauling for one, have shown many times over that the shelters are not only useless against an atomic blast, but are also useless as protection from atomic fallout.

The leaflet also called for a plebiscite on whether or not the Canadian forces should be armed with nuclear arms, and for withdrawal of Canada from all military alliances such as NORAD and NATO.

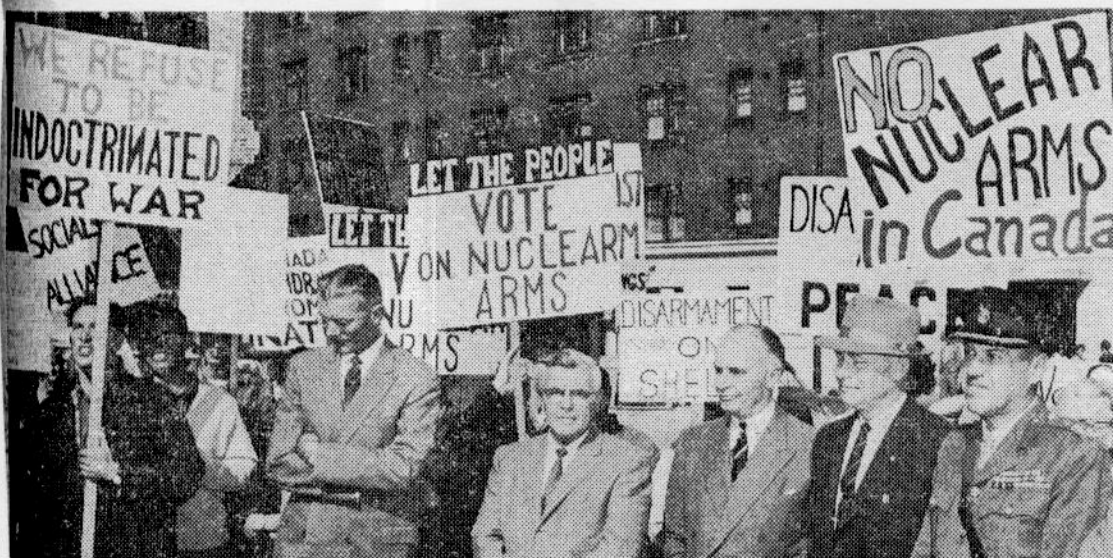
The picket line was supported by members of the Stanley Park CCF club, the BC Radiation Hazards Committee, and the BC Peace Council. Also present were the four Vanguard Trailblazers, in Vancouver at that time.

A crescendo of boos, and shouts of "McCarthyite," rent the air when

(Continued from page 1)

Acting Mayor Earle Adams attempted to red-bait the picketers. In reply to his comment that "in a free country you can utilize your freedom to heckle and obstruct," the group demanded that they be allowed to speak over the microphone, and that the people should be given the freedom to hear the view of those who think the shelters serve to bring World War III closer.

Although the real reason for the promotion of the shelters is to stimulate the cold war fears of the people, and thereby justify the Diefenbaker government's military expenditures, the shelter has now turned into a focal point for those who want to do something to prevent war, and believe the best place to start is here at home.



Brigadier J. W. Bishop, commander of BC Army Area, Municipal Affairs Minister W. D. Black, the acting mayor, and assorted dignitaries prepare to officially inaugurate a fall-out shelter on the court house lawn in downtown Vancouver. Enraged, frustrated, they are surrounded by picketers who gathered to protest that the ceremony was part of a campaign to psychologically prepare the Canadian people to accept the idea of a war and the colossal military expenditures by the government.

Trailblazers Hit The Western Campuses

The adjectives "complacent" and "apathetic", so frequently applied to young people throughout the nineteen-fifties, are becoming more and more unsuitable with each passing day. This was the discovery of the Vanguard Trailblazers when they visited universities in Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg while on their return trip to Toronto from Vancouver.

While we stood outside the university libraries and coffee shops calling on students to "Buy the Young Socialist—read the socialist point of view on Cuba, on the US elections . . ." many students immediately began to ask questions about the paper, at times deluging us with questions. Some 200 of them bought copies and a few later sent in for subscriptions. The Young Socialist is a joint US-Canadian youth publication.

In Calgary, Winnipeg and Saskatoon, students invited us to speak

to them. We had to turn down the opportunity in Saskatoon because of a pressing time schedule, but we gladly accepted in Winnipeg and Calgary.

The students didn't want us to speak on one of the day-to-day political issues of importance but to get down to the roots of the matter. They wanted to know what Trotskyism is—what Marxists have to say for themselves in the face of capitalist attacks and social democratic and Stalinist revisions and retreats.

Some 50 students attended each meeting, listening intently to what we had to say, and then raising questions when the speaker was finished. Red-baiting, so conspicuous in past years, was conspicuous by its absence this time. Only one student, half jokingly at that, told Alan Harris, the speaker in Calgary, to "Go back to Cuba."

But if many students were inter-

ested in hearing a different point of view, a few others were not. At Calgary Tech Campus, a Social Creditor attempted to make use of his position on the students' council to order us off the campus, an order which we refused to recognize.

The vice-principal, W. A. Saunders, threatened us with the law. This gentleman displayed his understanding of university intellectual freedom and democracy by stating, "I have no idea of what the political literature was and cannot authorize it unless I get a chance to check it." But as the Calgary *Albertan* reported, while we were tossed out by the authorities, we were welcomed back by the students.

In Edmonton another student council member, taking it upon himself to play the dual role of guardian of student thought and policeman for the reactionaries,

threatened to round up a gang and use brute force to stop the sale of socialist literature. When we stood on our rights, however, he backed down, and the threat was left unfulfilled.

The growth of student political activity is evidenced this year by the considerably greater success of the CCF clubs on campus. In some cases the clubs have more than doubled in membership. This trend is supported even more fully by the establishment of local branches of the Combined University Committee for Nuclear Disarmament throughout the West.

If student political activity continues to develop at its present rate throughout the nineteen-sixties, it will not be long before those who once scorned the students for their indifference will be cursing them for their concern about the problems of our times.

Break the US Embargo Boost Trade with Cuba

When the American State Department clamped an embargo down on practically all goods going from the US to Cuba, Canada's Prime Minister Diefenbaker made a declaration of independence to the effect that Canada has "no intention whatsoever of imposing any embargo on Canadian goods in Cuban trade." But this statement was strictly for the record.

Ottawa has made it clear that no export licenses will be granted for the shipment of goods of US origin to Cuba that Washington itself would not sanction. The Canadian government is backing up to the hilt American imperialism's slashing attempt to cripple the Cuban economy by depriving it of any source of supply of replacement parts and essential materials that it needs to continue operation of its US-made machines in oil refineries, sugar mills, and other industries.

Previous State Department squeeze plays compelled Cuba to establish trade agreements with the USSR, China, Indonesia and the United Arab Republic. But Canadian businessmen say, according to *Financial Post*, that these alliances "will not solve hundreds of urgent supply problems wrapped around US products and standards."

Then what about made-in-Canada substitutes for US goods that the Cuban government will seek to obtain? *FINANCIAL POST* frankly replies; "Few firms would be willing to deal with Cuba without the blessing of their US parents, as well as Canadian and US governments."

The Canadian factories most readily able to supply goods that the State Department has forbidden, are in that half of Canadian industry that is owned by US corporations. A few years ago Canadian subsidiaries of US corporations were forbidden by American law to accept Chinese orders for trucks and aluminum, thus depriving thousands of Canadians of needed jobs. The Cuba ban is not being enforced under the Foreign Assets Control Act, but this could be quickly remedied. So far, the state department feels confident of enforcing its counter-

revolutionary aims by pressuring US subsidiaries in Canada. It is aided in this by the utter subservience of the Diefenbaker government.

Canadian Westinghouse has stated it will do business in accordance with directions from Ottawa officials. Ford Motor Company of Canada says that whether they will supply Cuba with cars and parts depends on a forthright clearance from the federal government.

Even exporters whose goods in the past accounted for the bulk of Canadian-Cuban trade, which is not at all in the area of the embargoed hard-to-get goods, are feeling the pressure. One of Canada's biggest traditional exporters to Cuba (the USSR has replaced Canadian newsprint in Cuba) is Canada Malting. According to the

See SMASH US—page 2

BC Labor To Find Truth about Cuba

By R. W. BULLOCK

VANCOUVER—One of the most significant actions of the recently held convention of the BC Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) was the decision to send the top officers of that body for a first hand look at the Cuban revolution. The convention also urged all local unions to elect representatives to accompany federation officers and make it a mass delegation.

The question was raised as a suggestion by Federation Secretary Pat O'Neal when the report of the Committee on International Affairs was being considered. O'Neal pointed out that little information of a reliable character was available—that the vicious reports in the capitalist press were obviously slanted—that this social revolution

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Seek Truth

(Continued from page 1)

demanding the closest attention and study by the Canadian labor movement—that the truth could only be brought to the Canadian workers through first hand reporting and contact.

The suggestion was referred back to the committee which, in due course, recommended favorably. The resolution received overwhelming and enthusiastic support; only a bare handful mouthed the brain-washed arguments derived from the capitalist press.

In the waning moments of the convention, under the order of unfinished business, delegate Fred McNeil of Local 507, ILWU, called attention to a report that the former head of the Cuban Federation of Labor, Mujal — a Batista henchman who fled from Cuba with his sadistic master—was now allegedly a paid consultant of George Meany, headman of the American AFL-CIO. That this was the source of most of the anti-Cuban propaganda circulated through trade union channels seemed to be an obvious conclusion and something should be done about it.

Angus Macphee, Local 708 Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union, immediately moved that the BC Federation initiate an investigation of this situation and, if substantiated, demand the necessary remedial action. The resolution carried.

Unionists across Canada should respond to the lead of the BC section and organized observation delegations to Cuba.

Smash US Trade Embargo Come to Aid of Cuban People

(Continued from page 1)

company's export manager, Harry Shaver; "We have other markets beside Cuba, including the US. It would be imprudent for us to say anything which would antagonize other customers."

A FINANCIAL POST correspondent writes in the October 22 issue "Not one of the exporters I spoke with will ship to Cuba without cash on the barrel-head. Cuba's dollar reserves stand at a mere 175 million dollars. The US embargo automatically wiped out her dollar supply. Castro, upon nationalizing all other banks, wisely refrained from nationalizing the Canadian Bank of Nova Scotia and the Royal Bank, but transferred 60 million dollars to each so that they could be used for transactions involving international exchange. The government has also rescinded nationalization of the Canadian Moore Business Forms that was swept up in the extensive nationalizations of American holdings.

According to the October 29

Financial Post, Manuel Stolik, Cuban charge d'affaires in Ottawa, said he had no word of any new orders placed in Canada since the US embargo.

The organized labor movement of Canada should officially take it upon itself to encourage the Cuban government to place orders with Canadian manufacturing concerns. They should demand no interference by foreign owners of Canadian plants equipped to handle Cuban orders and be prepared to take any moves necessary to fill such orders. They should demand that the Diefenbaker government interfere in no way with trade with Cuba.

The Canadian people have everything to gain. Cuban orders would mean jobs for thousands of Canadian workers who face a bleak winter this year. Besides, it is their duty to help the cause of the Cuban people in their struggle against American imperialism, in any way they can. For the Cubans, as the TORONTO STAR'S George Byrant wrote from Habana Sept. 9, "are declaring their independence as the Americans did in 1776."

Contrary to the majority of Canadian press reports, and the latest twist of the New York Times, for the first time the people of Cuba are tasting freedom, reports the well-known editorial writer of the New York Times, Herbert L. Matthews, in the August issue of the Hispanic American Report

"For the first time proper attention is being paid public health . . . the peasants are getting a break for the first time . . . for the first time there has been relatively complete honesty in government, civil service, the armed forces, and in industry so far as it is controlled."

Now, with the latest massive takeover of imperialist holdings, the Cuban people are moving to establish a planned economy, which the Canadian workers themselves must prepare to do.

#58-59-NOV-DEC 1960

Protest Threats Against Cubans

Pickers appeared simultaneously on November 5 at Vancouver in front of the American Consulate and across the continent in Toronto in front of the American consulate there. They protested the threatening actions of the US State Department against tiny Cuba and expressed their solidarity with the Cuban people's struggle. Both demonstrations got TV coverage over CBC TV.

The Vancouver picketers, organized by the Friends of Cuba Committee, and the Toronto picket, composed of members and friends of the Young Socialist Alliance, passed out attractive leaflets and invited all to join.

Passing-by Vancouver pedestrians and motorists, attracted by the striking placards carried by the demonstrators, gave friendly encouragement. The placards bore slogans which fell into two categories; non-intervention by the US in Cuba, and lifting of the economic embargo imposed by the US on Cuba.

The idea of non-intervention was expressed by such slogans as: Guatemala, Lebanon, Now Cuba? No!; Pull All US Troops Out of Cuba; and Hands off Cuba. Slogans such as Aid, Not a Blockade; Remove the Economic Quarantine, expressed the demand that Cuba be given a chance to raise the living standards of its people. The leaflet pointed out the shameful role played by the Diefenbaker government in submitting to the embargo.

On the second Saturday the picket, larger and carrying more placards, was warned by the police against distributing the leaflet as it would be in violation of the anti-litter bylaw.

Participating in the first two pickets were friends and supporters of various CCF clubs in Vancouver and the Young Socialist Alliance. Since then the members of several youth clubs have expressed their interest in participating in future actions.

Vancouver—YOU'RE ALWAYS WELCOME
AT**The Socialist
Information Center**

875 E. HASTINGS ST.

The Socialist Educational League
Canada

(Ferdin 1960)

(message to SWP - Convention?)

We have been following your splendid struggles against race prejudice, the witch-hunt, the war preparations, and for a socialist America with the warmest feelings of solidarity.

The firm bond between your words and your deeds convinces us that ~~your~~ ~~movement~~ ~~your~~ ~~are~~ ~~for~~ ~~ging~~ ~~your~~ ~~great~~ ~~aspirations~~ ~~to~~ ~~strike~~ ~~capitalism~~ ~~at~~ ~~its~~ ~~US~~ ~~control~~ ~~point~~ ~~and~~ ~~thereby~~ ~~make~~ ~~possible~~ ~~a~~ ~~world~~ ~~of~~ ~~peace~~ ~~where~~ ~~man~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~develop~~ ~~to~~ ~~his~~ ~~fullest~~ ~~and~~ ~~as~~ ~~yet~~ ~~undreamed~~ ~~of~~ ~~capacities~~.

Your generation is destined to bring to fruition the seeds that have been developed and nurtured by those who have gone before. In your movement we see the promise of fulfilment of Leon Trotsky's prediction that Marxism will find its highest expression on North American soil.

Socialist clarity in your discussions !

Socialist unity and militancy in your ranks ! And great advances will be yours.

The Socialist Educational League

Ross Dowson
secretary treasurer of

Diego Rivera Andre Breton

towards a free Revolutionary Art

We can say without exaggeration that never has civilization been menaced so seriously as today. The Vandals, with instruments which were barbarous, and so comparatively ineffective, blotted out the culture of antiquity in one corner of Europe. But today we see world civilization, united in its historic destiny, reeling under the blows of reactionary forces armed with the entire arsenal of modern technology. We are by no means thinking only of the world war that draws near. Even in times of 'peace' the position of art and science has become absolutely intolerable.

Insofar as it originates with an individual, insofar as it brings into play subjective talents to create something which brings about an objective enriching of culture, any philosophical, sociological, scientific or artistic discovery seems to be the fruit of a precious *chance*, that is to say, the manifestation, more or less spontaneous, of *necessity*. Such

creations cannot be slighted, whether from the standpoint of general knowledge (which interprets the existing world), or of revolutionary knowledge (which, the better to change the world, requires an exact analysis of the laws which govern its movement). Specifically, we cannot remain indifferent to the intellectual conditions under which creative activity takes place, nor should we fail to pay all respect to those particular laws which govern intellectual creation.

In the contemporary world we must recognize the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible. From this follows of necessity an increasingly manifest degradation not only of the work of art but also of the specifically 'artistic' personality. The régime of Hitler, now that it has rid Germany of all those artists whose work expressed the slightest sympathy for liberty, however superficial, has reduced those

who still consent to take up pen or brush to the status of domestic servants of the régime, whose task it is to glorify it on order, according to the worst possible aesthetic conventions. If reports may be believed it is the same in the Soviet Union, where Thermidorean reaction is now reaching its climax.

It goes without saying that we do not identify ourselves with the currently fashionable catchword: 'Neither fascism nor communism!' a shibboleth which suits the temperament of the Philistine, conservative and frightened, clinging to the tattered remnants of the 'democratic' past. True art, which is not content to play variations on ready-made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time—true art is unable *not* to be revolutionary, *not* to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. This it must do, were it only to deliver intellectual creation from the chains which bind it, and to allow all mankind to raise itself to those heights which only isolated geniuses have achieved in the past. We recognize that only the social revolution can sweep clean the path for a new culture. If, however, we reject all solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet Union, it is precisely because, in our eyes, it represents, not communism, but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy.

The totalitarian régime of the USSR, working through the so-called 'cultural' organization it controls in other countries, has spread over the entire world a deep twilight hostile to every sort of spiritual value. A twilight of filth and blood in which, disguised as intellectuals and artists, those men steep themselves who have made of servility a

career, of lying for pay a custom, and of the palliation of crime a source of pleasure. The official art of Stalinism mirrors with a blatancy unexampled in history their efforts to put a good face on their mercenary profession.

The repugnance which this shameful negation of principles of art inspires in the artistic world—a negation which even slave states have never dared to carry so far—should give rise to an active, uncompromising condemnation. The *opposition* of writers and artists is one of the forces which can usefully contribute to the discrediting and overthrow of régimes which are destroying, along with the right of the proletarian to aspire to a better world, every sentiment of nobility and even of human dignity.

The communist revolution is not afraid of art. It realizes that the role of the artist in a decadent capitalist society is determined by the conflict between the individual and various social forms which are hostile to him. This fact alone, insofar as he is conscious of it, makes the artist the natural ally of revolution. The process of *sublimation*, which here comes into play and which psychoanalysis has analysed, tries to restore the broken equilibrium between the integral 'ego' and the outside elements it rejects. This restoration works to the advantage of the 'ideal of self', which marshals against the unbearable present reality all those powers of the interior world, of the 'self', which are *common to all men* and which are constantly flowering and developing. The need for emancipation felt by the individual spirit has only to follow its natural course to be led to mingle its stream with this primeval necessity—the need for the emancipation of man.

The conception of the writer's function which the young Marx worked out is worth recalling. 'The writer,' he declared, 'naturally must make money in order to live and write, but he should not under any circumstances live and write in order to make money. . . . The writer by no means looks on his work as a *means*. It is an *end in itself* and so little a means in the eyes of himself and of others that if necessary he sacrifices his existence to the existence of his work. . . . *The first condition of the freedom of the press is that it is not a business activity.*'² It is more than ever fitting to use this statement against those who would regiment intellectual activity in the direction of ends foreign to itself, and prescribe, in the guise of so-called 'reasons of State', the themes of art. The free choice of these themes and the absence of all restrictions on the range of his exploitations—these are possessions which the artist has a right to claim as inalienable. In the realm of artistic creation, the imagination must escape from all constraint and must under no pretext allow itself to be placed under bonds. To those who urge us, whether for today or for tomorrow, to consent that art should submit to a discipline which we hold to be radically incompatible with its nature, we give a flat refusal and we repeat our deliberate intention of standing by the formula *complete freedom for art*.

We recognize, of course, that the revolutionary State has the right to defend itself against the counter-attack of the bourgeoisie, even when this drapes itself in the flag of science or art. But there is an abyss between these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defence and the pre-

tension to lay commands on intellectual creation. If, for the better development of the forces of material production, the revolution must build a *socialist régime* with centralized control, to develop intellectual creation an *anarchist régime* of individual liberty should from the first be established. No authority, no dictation, not the least trace of orders from above! Only on a base of friendly co-operation, without constraint from outside, will it be possible for scholars and artists to carry out their tasks, which will be more far-reaching than ever before in history.

It should be clear by now that in defending freedom of thought we have no intention of justifying political indifference, and that it is far from our wish to revive a so-called 'pure' art which generally serves the extremely impure ends of reaction. No, our conception of the role of art is too high to refuse it an influence on the fate of society. We believe that the supreme task of art in our epoch is to take part actively and consciously in the preparation of the revolution. But the artist cannot serve the struggle for freedom unless he subjectively assimilates its social content, unless he feels in his very nerves its meaning and drama and freely seeks to give his own inner world incarnation in his art.

In the present period of the death agony of capitalism, democratic as well as fascist, the artist sees himself threatened with the loss of his right to live and continue working. He sees all avenues of communication choked with the débris of capitalist collapse. Only naturally, he turns to the Stalinist organizations which hold out the possibility of escaping from his isolation. But if he is to avoid

complete demoralization, he cannot remain there, because of the impossibility of delivering his own message and the degrading servility which these organizations exact from him in exchange for certain material advantages. He must understand that his place is elsewhere, not among those who betray the cause of the revolution and mankind, but among those who with unshaken fidelity bear witness to the revolution, among those who, for this reason, are alone able to bring it to fruition, and along with it the ultimate free expression of all forms of human genius.

The aim of this appeal is to find a common ground on which may be reunited all revolutionary writers and artists, the better to serve the revolution by their art and to defend the liberty of that art itself against the usurpers of the revolution. We believe that aesthetic, philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort can find here a common ground. Marxists can march here hand in hand with anarchists, provided both parties uncompromisingly reject the reactionary police patrol spirit represented by Joseph Stalin and by his henchman Garcia Oliver.³

We know very well that thousands on thousands of isolated thinkers and artists are today scattered throughout the world, their voices drowned out by the loud choruses of well-disciplined liars. Hundreds of small local magazines are trying to gather youthful forces about them, seeking new paths and not subsidies. Every progressive tendency in art is destroyed by fascism as 'degenerate'. Every free creation is

called 'fascist' by the Stalinists. Independent revolutionary art must now gather its forces for the struggle against reactionary persecution. It must proclaim aloud the right to exist. Such a union of forces is the aim of the *International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art* which we believe it is now necessary to form.

We by no means insist on every idea put forth in this manifesto, which we ourselves consider only a first step in the new direction. We urge every friend and defender of art, who cannot but realize the necessity for this appeal, to make himself heard at once. We address the same appeal to all those publications of the left wing which are ready to participate in the creation of the International Federation and to consider its task and its methods of action.

When a preliminary international contact has been established through the press and by correspondence, we will proceed to the organization of local and national congresses on a modest scale. The final step will be the assembly of a world congress which will officially mark the foundation of the International Federation.

Our aims:

The independence of art—for the revolution.

The revolution—for the complete liberation of art!

ANDRE BRETON

DIEGO RIVERA

Translated for *Partisan Review*

by Dwight Macdonald

WPA-1961
002-h

Found in BC-LSA-1961

Draft Socialist Program
For The New Party

PREAMBLE:

A "New" political party is in the making in Canada resulting from the proposed fusion of the CCF and the trade unions of the Canadian Labour Congress. This "New Party" formation must be solidly supported by all who seek the emancipation of mankind from social and economic exploitation. Purposeful action can not be delayed.

Mankind is at the crossroads. The "H" bomb and other methods of mass destruction impose upon us the necessity of making a choice. The choice of accepting fundamental and radical change in our economic and social relationships to solve the problems of today or, accepting as inevitable the the destruction of the human race in a nuclear holocaust.

Capitalism has not and cannot solve the problem of unemployment or poverty in the midst of plenty; nor has it ever refrained from war to protect threatened ruling class interests and what are known as "traditional markets" in a world of vicious competition.

This decaying capitalist social and economic order is in a state of chronic crisis, one manifestation of which is the continuing "cold war" conducted against all those areas of the world which have definitely broken with capitalism. A further manifestation of crisis is the revolt of most of the colonial peoples against the yoke of imperialist domination.

The growing collapse of world trade is throwing millions out of work in the capitalist countries. This process is again sharpened and rendered more

Draft Socialist Program

^{NOTE}
by the tremendous impact of "automation" in every sector of industry. No solution is to be found within the framework of capitalism - only bold policies aiming to give root to a new social and economic order can supply the answer to the needs of the people of all countries - Canada included.

To this end the working force of this country must forge an organization for the conquest of political and economic power. Such an organization must have the utmost internal democracy - its leadership and its policies must be clearly subject to the will and control of the membership. Its goal must be to use its political and economic power to take over the means of production, distribution and exchange in order to establish an integrated, planned economy to serve the interests of all residents of Canada. Participation must be open to all individuals and organizations who agree to support the broad principles and aims declared in the political action resolution of the 1958 Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Such a "New Party" can not rest from its labours until, in co-operation with workers of all countries, the exploitation of man by man has been banished from the face of the earth and mankind, as a world brotherhood, can flower to its full intellectual and cultural stature.

To achieve this aim the "New Party" socialist caucus believes the following program is absolutely essential.

WAR AND PEACE

Our goal is a "New Party" Government with an international socialist policy for peace.

Draft Socialist Program

War & Peace (cont.)

We call:

- (1) For the ending of the manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons. For the unilateral ending of any further experimentation in chemical or biological methods of mass destruction or the storage or use of nuclear weapons by Canada.
- (2) We demand that the Canadian Government give the Canadian people an opportunity to vote in a national referendum on the question of whether there shall be nuclear arms in Canada.
- (3) For the withdrawal of all Canadian Armed Forces from foreign bases and withdrawal from all imperialist alliances such as NATO and NORAD which could draw Canada into an armed conflict; we believe foreign troops anywhere in the world should be returned to their home countries and disbanded.
- (4) For the disbanding of Canada's armed services and for the planned assimilation of the disbanded personnel into the economy.
- (5) The billions of dollars presently wasted on Canada's "Defense Budget" could provide a real starting point for socially useful works such as low rental housing, hospitals, medical care, etc., Part of this now wasted sum could well supply significant aid to that two thirds of the world's people who never get enough to eat.

IMPERIALISM:

Recognizing that Imperialism is inherent in the system of monopoly capitalism, we declare our unequivocal opposition to any & all attempts of the

Imperialism (cont.)

imperialists to impose their will upon any country or people of the world in any way, shape or form. We support the struggles of colonial people for their national emancipation. We declare our support to the movement of any and all peoples striving for national self-determination and independence from tyranny.

To this end a "New Party" Government would assist these people to achieve their aims with technicians, machines and funds which would be readily available with the elimination of the present Canadian "Cold War" Budget.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

Pending its election to office, the "New Party" demands here and now, direct measures to establish a decent standard of living for all Canadians. We demand the immediate establishment of the thirty hour work week in industry and commerce with no reduction in take home pay; the extension of paid holidays and sickness benefits; we demand the immediate nationalization of closed down production facilities and their incorporation into a massive and more comprehensive national public works program to include slum clearance, reforestation, rural electrification, highway construction, building of schools and hospitals. We further demand that those unemployed as a result of the present capitalist anarchy have a right to be maintained at full trade union rates of pay or at a standard of living consistent with a civilized industrial community.

Unemployment: (cont)

A "New Party" Government, through the establishment of a planned economy with the co-operation of the working force, will banish involuntary unemployment and poverty; it will continuously shorten hours of work, extend paid vacations and raise living standards.

LABOUR'S RIGHTS:

A "New Party" Government will make an unequivocal proclamation of Labour's Rights. There will be no interference in the affairs of trade unions by Government by means of any and all Labour Legislation, Trade Union Acts, or injunctions by Courts of Law; or by infringement upon trade unions by invalidating dues check off procedure - or by declaring them legal entities for purposes of Court action for damages, etc.

Every worker must enjoy an unrestricted right to belong to a union of his own choice.

SOCIALIZATION OF INDUSTRY:

Under the free enterprise system the object of all production is the sale of things produced. Its aim is not to directly satisfy social needs but to add to the accumulated wealth of the class which owns the means of production.

Every branch of industry is racked by competition between its similar but privately owned parts. Every branch of industry and its individual component parts determines its production goals on the same basis and independently of the others. Each individual industrial enterprise strives to plan

Draft Socialist Program

its operation for maximum internal efficiency - to make more profit. The sum total of "Free enterprise" production is social and economic anarchy.

The evidence of this anarchy is to be seen in the growth of surplus -both in manpower (unemployment) and inventory (unconsumed goods). The more advanced the application of technology to production (automation) the greater is the rate of production with progressively less manpower. Ultimately, social and economic stagnation becomes chronic - (depression.)

It is self evident that if production is to serve the needs of society as a whole it must be taken out of the hands of those who now own and control it. Social ownership of the natural resources, means of production, distribution and exchange is the necessary basis for effective social and economic planning. A "New Party" Government will proceed immediately to establish public ownership and administration of these features of the economy by such means as circumstances may dictate.

AGRICULTURE:

Ultimately the production of food and the utilization of land must become a public enterprise and an integral part of national planning, together with all other branches of industry, distribution and exchange. The means of achieving this end may be many and varied and will be worked out in consultation with the farmers themselves. Meantime, during the period of transition, however long it may be, the working farmers must be assured of a secure livelihood.

Control over the means of distribution will assure orderly marketing of farm products,

Draft Socialist Program

Agriculture: (cont.)

Socialization of industry will assure farmers of parity prices. A managed economy would make certain that the returns to the farmer for his labour (produce) would be effectively equated to the prices of things he has to buy.

Necessary loans at low rates of interest will be assured by a "New Party" Government placing adequate funds in the hands of Farm Loan Associations administered by and composed of farmers in local areas. All forms of co-operative enterprises will be encouraged.

HEALTH AND WELFARE:

All citizens should enjoy the right to full medical, dental and health care. All pensions and social welfare allowances should be greatly increased and protected against the effects of inflation through provision for further automatic increases tied to the cost of living index. A "New Party" Government would institute a complete health service together with immediate expansion of institutional facilities - including training centres where all accepted students would be placed on salary.

EDUCATION:

Educational programs must be co-ordinated and developed on a national basis as an inter-related part of the planned economy. Higher education should be freely available to all people living in Canada. Adequate income should be provided for all students so that they, and society, may be able to reap the fullest benefits of this education.

Draft Socialist Program

Education: (cont.)

Culture, in the form of artistic expression, is the product of mankind's leisure time - either collective or individual. When the necessities and luxuries of life flow in abundance from a planned economy the artistic expression of man will flower as never before seen in history.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:

The most exploited section of society must have first attention.

expeditious action must be taken to eliminate all discriminatory practices against women. i.e. In law, differentiation of status and rights between single and married women - sex classification in "Minimum Wage" laws - inferior position of women in divorce proceedings, etc. In industry, job classification by sex, either direct or by custom.

A "New Party" Government will enact a "Bill of Rights" which will establish the right of all to full freedom of association and expression, together with an inalienable right for all citizens to directly participate in arriving at major decisions on matters pertaining to their economic and social well being.

Provision will be made to assure equality of status for all without discrimination as to sex, color, racial origin or age.

Draft (1)

(1) The _____ is a fusion of the Socialist Educational League, centered in Toronto, and the Socialist Information Centermax of Vancouver, and their supporters scattered across Canada.

(2) The _____ is committed to unconditional support of the ~~New~~ party in its objective to place workers and farmers governments in Ottawa and the provinces.

(3) Its purpose is ~~to~~ (1) to bring together, to organize in- to an effective force , all supporters of the new party who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist ob- jective; (2) to build the party , to participate in its day to day activities and to advance ideas that will give conscious direction to the working people of Canada in their struggles to defend and extend their interests.

#####

(4) The first requirement for the workers in all countries of the world is to break cleanly ~~from~~ the capitalist class and their political parties and any and all concepts of coal- itions with their parties. They must build a party of their

own based on their primary class organizations , the trade unions, with the aim of taking the power out of the hands of ^{big business} (the ~~capitalis~~-class) and into their own hands.

(5) The new party being organized by the CCF and the CLC meets this requirement. It opens up the possibility of galvanizing the entire working people of Canada , in alliance with the struggles of the workers in other parts of the globe, to eliminate once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism and to eliminate its wars which now threaten mankind with atomic destruction, and to usher in a new world of peace and plenty.

(6) Those associated together in ----- seek to join forces with all those who now understand this challenge in order to win the majority of the industrial work^{ers} to this realization.

(7) Our support~~for~~ the new party is unconditional. We set no price on our participation as to what the specific plank must be in the program adopted by the new party, and we lay down no terms as to who must be in the leadership of the new party . We recognize the authority of the majority in democratic debate to decide the policy of the party and to strike off the leadership if it sees fit to pledge to implement that policy. We agree to loyally abide by these decisions.

(8) At the same time we affirm the right of the minority to hold its own views, to freely advance its views in the organizations that are part of and allied to the new party, and to seek to win the majority to the support of its views and establish a leadership in the party consonant with its views.

(9) While we declare our unconditional support for the new party we declare our conviction, based on experience both in Canada and in other parts of the world, and our ^Nanalysis of objective reality, that the programme being advanced by the leadership of the CLC and the CCF is inadequate, and were it to become and to remain the program of the party it would render it incapable of meeting the needs of those whose support it seeks.

(10) Their program is reformist when the task is revolutionary-- is socialist. While capitalism is moving out to slash the many gains past won, imposing new burdensome taxes, straight-jacketing organized labor with union busting laws, cutting down on social legislation, throwing hundreds of thousands into unemployment, they talk in terms of the affluent society and the amelioration of class conflicts. They project a perspective of merely removing what they present as minor defects in the existing capitalist order of things, of patching

(end of archive)

TORONTO DAILY

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1961

STAR

LED BY PROFESSOR

City Group Seeks 'Fair Play for Cuba'

A "Fair Play for Cuba" committee has been formed in Toronto with Professor Kenneth McNaught of the history department at the University of Toronto and Rev. John Morgan, minister of the First Unitarian congregation, at the top of its list of advisers.

The committee's primary function is "informational—to help Canadians understand the Cuban revolution," said Vern Olsen, an engineering technician. "Our committee does not give a blanket endorsement of everything Cuban. But Canada should have a proper relationship to

the social upheavals, not only in Cuba but in all sections of the world."

Such a relationship can only result from "correct information on the real situation, especially in Cuba, and an attitude of sympathetic understanding."

Other members of the committee's executive are: Dr. F. F. Sypher, co-chairman; Peter Skelton, a chemist, treasurer; and Pat Mitchell, a secretary, membership secretary.

Committee members are: James Garfinkle, a lawyer; Roland Nunez, an interpreter; James Gray, a union organizer; Ronald Wilson, associate secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Canada; and Janet Campbell, a secretary.

Mr. Olsen said the committee will hold a public meeting in the near future "with a name speaker," show films and distribute literature. It will also organize tours to Cuba.

"A key factor in the work of the committee will be its list of advisers with expert knowledge," he said.

"Canadians have looked on their Cuban policy so far as being primarily a trading opportunity," Dr. McNaught said. "We should look on our continued recognition of Cuba as an expression of the right of any ex-colonial country to choose its own way of life."

A lot of pressure will be brought to bear on the Canadian government to follow the U.S. embargo, he predicted. "This U.S. policy tends to drive Cuba into the Communist orbit," he said. "It's foolish."

THE VANCOUVER SUN: Mon., Jan. 30, 1961

'Fair Play For Cuba' Group Formed

TORONTO (CP) — An organization known as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been formed in Toronto.

A list of sponsors, to be published shortly, is headed by Professor Kenneth McNaught of the University of Toronto and Rev. John Morgan, minister of the First Unitarian congregation in Toronto.

The statement of purpose is:

"To disseminate truth, to combat untruth, to publish the factual information about Cuba which the Canadian mass media suppress, which the Canadian public has the right to know."

The committee proposes to combat what it calls "the ignorance, inadequate leadership, blatantly distorted reporting which constitute not merely a grave injustice to the Cuban people and a serious threat to their dream of a better life, but a serious threat, as well, to the free traditions of our own people, our nation or hemisphere."

A NEW Party-Open to All and Genuinely Democratic

You would take it for granted that the leadership of the new party, to be elected into office by the delegates at the founding convention late in July, will promote the views of the party as determined by the convention. But the question was raised in one of the panels at the Calgary seminar, and not without good cause.

Probably some in attendance were aware that not only is British Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell blatantly defying party policy as laid down at the Scarborough convention—the delegates overwhelmingly committed the party to unilateral disarmament and nationalization of the basic means of production—but he is preparing disciplinary actions against MP's such as Konni Zilliacus and the socialist youth around KEEP LEFT who are protesting his treachery.

Besides, everyone knows that almost the entire leadership of the CCF opposed the adoption by the last CCF national convention of a resolution committing the party to withdrawal from NATO and that they are very unhappy that the November Manitoba CCF convention adopted resolutions favoring immediate withdrawal from all armament pacts such as NORAD and NATO, immediate and unilateral disarmament, and the suspension of testing of nuclear bombs and the destruction of existing stockpiles.

CCF leader Hazen Argue, who is attempting to build up support for his candidature as leader of the new party, intervened in the Calgary discussion to assure the panel that party decisions are binding on elected representatives, with the claim that the CCF members of parliament had always recognized this as an essential feature of the democratic process.

But Argue's claim is so patently false that it should serve not as an assurance but an alarm signal to every supporter of the new party. Take the case of German Rearmament. A national convention adopted a policy of opposition to the rearmament of the old enemies of the German people. But the CCF MP's voted with the Tories and Liberals for German Rearmament.

When the last CCF national convention came out against NATO it only completed a circle that was started well over a decade before. The CCF MP's voted for Canadian support of NATO but not before Coldwell cracked the whip on several of the more reluctant ones, well aware of the opposition of the party membership, clearly spelled out by a BC provincial convention a few months previously.

And now that the party position on NATO has been unmistakably defined, where, when, have the CCF leaders, either in the house or the hustings, been promoting it?

The Saskatchewan CCF Commonwealth, without comment has recently published an exchange of correspondence between a **Montreal Gazette** columnist and Harry Pope, president of the Quebec section of the CCF. Pope quite openly promotes views which he admits are completely contrary to the official policy on NATO. Mr. Pope persists in promoting the views that he advanced at the national convention which were rejected by the assembled delegates, casually referring readers to the national office for official policy.

With the above in mind, new party supporters, anxious to see that it correctly reflects the aims, aspirations and interests of the working class, will know how to treat any and all talk coming from the CCF and trade union leadership about keeping workers who they designate as alien and unworthy out of the new party. They will brush it aside with the contempt that it deserves.

Those who bear watching are the CCF and trade union leaders under whose auspices the new party is being launched. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

Don't deprive it of its Birthright – Fight for – A Socialist Policy for the New Party

(*Workers' Vanguard* editorial, January 1961)

The socialist viewpoint is under the most powerful attack that this country has ever witnessed. The capitalist opposition to socialism, the lies of the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit, the slanders and distortions over all the mediums of communications in their hands, have been persistent. But this anti-socialism has been losing its effect — the workers have developed a healthy scepticism — the bias of the source is becoming too obvious.

The anti-socialist campaign of today and the past five years is the more powerful, the more effective, the more damaging, in that its source is persons long identified in the public mind as being in some way socialist — the leadership of the now defunct CCF, attempting to find another base of operations in the new party.

Their campaign against socialism reached a peak five years ago with the dumping of the *Regina Manifesto* and the adoption of the *Winnipeg Declaration* by the CCF national convention. Now, in the discussions on the new party, it is reaching a climax.

The crisis of the thirties and the wave of militant protest that it whipped up imposed on the Douglasses and Lewises a radical ideology which, since the opening of World War II they have been steadily divesting themselves of. They are now intent on assuring that the new party is launched without such encumbrances as opposition to wars waged to make the world safe for capitalism (in these days of Laos and intervention in Cuba) and commitment to the elimination of the domination and exploitation of one class by another and socialized planning (in these days of AVRO shutdowns, Elliott Lake and the evacuation of the Maritimes).

The irony of the situation is that whereas the conditions prevailing in 1956 favored the adoption of the peaceful co-existence with capitalism "Winnipeg Declaration," the economic climate in Canada today is undergoing drastic change and doing violence to their concepts.

Douglas proclaims to the Montreal and Calgary new party seminars that the problems of the 60's are a good deal different than the 30's. New party MP Pitman protests that we mustn't fight the battles of the thirties. But the generation that fought those battles as they line up with a new generation for unemployment insurance, talk about mass jobless marches onto Ottawa and hear CLC leader Claude Jodoin himself warn that this unemployment is chronic, cannot help but see more similarity than difference between the thirties and today.

Taking their lead from Galbraith, a superficial essayist and commentator on matters economic, and adviser to the Democratic US president-elect Kennedy, the new opponents of socialism declare that there is nothing organically wrong with the system under which we live. They have a positive reluctance to define the system as capitalism and when they do, like Douglas, they call it planned capitalism — different in some way, a decisive, even if not defined way, from what it was in the thirties.

They attack socialism at its roots, They attempt to deny that there is a conflict, a struggle between labor and capital, or at least one that is in any way irreconcilable. As Coldwell put it, "the class struggle is dead." They challenge the concept that this system is one of crisis. The crisis confronting man in our times, they say, lies not in prevailing economic and social conditions, but in ourselves. According to Douglas, rather than new economic laws, we need a new sense of values.

Woodworker leader Joe Morris cut across these concepts, in his report to the Calgary seminar when he assured those in attendance that trade unionists are well aware that labor is dealt with as a commodity . . . they fully realize the significance of the present class division of society on the basis of economic interests . . . not a day passes that they are not brought face to face with the class struggle in its ugliest and most ruthless form.

The question as to whether there is a class struggle and whether the economic system under which we live is one of crisis is not to be decided by freezing the picture at some particular moment, but by observing it as it unfolds before our eyes over a period of time. The Coldwells and Lewises stopped the film, which was limited to shots of North America at a period of relative stability, and said — see — this is the whole picture. But the reel is continuing to unwind.

The economic laws of capitalism, which Coldwell and Douglas had an impression of in the 30's, continue to operate. Capitalism remains, for all the tinkering, a system of crisis. The crises arise out of the private ownership of the means of production and the private acquisition of the goods produced by social labor for social consumption. Man is divided along class lines determined by his relations to the means of production — there are those who own means of production — capital — and those who only possess the ability to work at the means of production owned by others. Between these two forces there is a conflict over the division of the fruits of labor. This struggle is the class struggle.

The class struggle is a fact, regardless of the particular forms or tempo that it takes on at any given time. If it were not so there would be no unions. And if it were not so there would be no basis for the new party.

Great time and effort is being expended to deny that the new party is a class party. Although on occasion particularly when they speak to working class audiences, the Douglasses refer to the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit as class parties, as parties of Big Business, of free enterprise—of capitalism. At the Montreal seminar, Steel workers Research director Harry Waisglass expressed the hope that the new party will be neither socialist or free enterprise.

What is the new party then—a party of reform? But all the free enterprise parties, Liberals, Tory and Social Credit, are reform parties since they depend upon popular support to get elected. If the new party is to be only another party of reform it will not stand up before the siren calls of the Liberals. If it is neither socialist nor free-enterprise, but a hermaphrodite—some kind of hybrid—it could start off in this state but if no operation takes place nature tells us that it will prove to be sterile.

It is no accident that while Gaitskell is attempting, and failing, to divest the British Labor party of its traditional policy of nationalization of the basic means of production, that Douglas and company are concentrating their fire on nationalization. Douglas calls it a fetish. Professor Weldon warns us against such cure-alls. The top leaders of the new party have found refuge in a rephrasing of the Mackenzie King formula — nationalization if necessary, but not necessarily nationalization. In place of nationalization — new economic laws — Douglas talks in terms of a new sense of values. He offers us no clue as to how the sense of values is to be realized.

Make the New Party a Dynamic Alternative

Ironically, all this is presented as something new, alive, and vital. The concept of nationalization, planning and industrial democracy, the class struggle, as old hat — the product of the thirties. But the views of Douglas and company not only predate Marxian socialism, timewise they are the product of an even more primitive stage of human thought. No one has claimed that public ownership is a cure-all. Derogative comments have been made that it is only a means. To be sure public ownership is only a means, but it is the **only** means yet suggested with which we can meet the problems of our times.

Capitalism, while having developed the highest level of production, is a system of waste and inefficiency. Not only through useless competition, and the alienation of man, but through the destruction of already existing productive plant. The steel industry in the US is running at only 40 per cent of its productive capacity. Across Canada whole industries are shut down or are on part time. Almost 13 per cent of the working force in the industrial Hamilton area is unemployed. The multimillion dollar Elliott Lake development is now deserted. Whole areas such as the Martimes are depressed, falling into disuse, and being abandoned.

The socialists seek to change the economic laws governing society and human relations, by bringing order and plan into production, through placing the key sectors, the commanding heights of the economy, under public ownership. Through councils of workers, farmers, housewives, with the aid of technicians, we would establish a genuine meaningful democracy. Once collectively in control of the means whereby we live, we could develop higher, more efficient and beneficent means.

What about the sense of values, the ethical and moral concepts that Douglas talks about? Isn't man's sense of values determined by conditions prevailing in his time? Aren't the prevailing concepts in society the ideas, a reflection of the interests, of the ruling class? Not only would public ownership eliminate the crisis in society through planning, and remove all the areas of class conflict, since we would all be owners of the productive forces of the community, but it would lay down the material basis for a change in man's sense of values. Only by changing objective reality will man be able to change and rise to his true height.

For Nationalization of the Basic Industries

We no longer remain in the field of speculation as to whether nationalization is the path to the future. Today we are witness to the startling transformation, within one lifetime, of

Soviet economy from one of the most backward in the world into the second most advanced. With the elimination of the bureaucracy and the full participation of the masses in every segment of society, Soviet progress would be even more impressive.

The new party should commit itself to nationalization of the basic means of production, to a fundamental transformation of social relations. It will be fighting for reforms in a period when the resistance of the capitalist class is mounting against those reforms already won, and when there is increasingly less possibility of establishing any new intensive and lasting ones. The fight to defend the interests of the workers can only be directed at the powerhouse of capitalist resistance – their ownership of the means of production.

It is necessary to give the movement a broader, higher and more inspiring aim than defence and modest adjustments of the status quo. The vision of a new world of co-operative labor, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, and the free development of the human personality, is not a deception like that perpetrated by Diefenbaker to manipulate our aspirations, but a practical realizability and a necessity. It is in harmony with the world-wide march of man.

It is not enough to talk about this in periodicals. It is necessary for socialists to attend the seminars and refute in debate, take on the superficialities and false positions expounded there, to frame resolutions to be submitted to the new party convention, and to gather their forces to commit new party clubs and CCF organizations to the socialist viewpoint.

It is vital that every effort be made now to get the party off on the right foot. Time is short. The socialist forces must organize. The resolution of this debate cannot be left to the blind forces of history, but requires the conscious disciplined intervention of human beings.

Trade Union Notes



ENDS TRUSTEESHIP

Elections in the crisis-torn 5,500 member Toronto area local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters saw Kenneth McDougall squeeze into office as president with a 43 vote margin. With considerably less than a third of the vote that was cast, McDougall nosed out Bill Davidson who headed a slate of candidates who contested the election under the sponsorship of a group of rank and file militants calling themselves FWD (Four Wheel Drive—Forward With Democracy.)

FWD vice-presidential candidate John Dunley came second in the seven man contest and one of the FWD candidates for trustee, Ozzie MacKenzie, was elected. Secretary-treasurer Merritt, who filled in the FWD ballot, was re-elected to office.

The highlight of the tense electoral struggle, which brings to a close a Hoffa enforced trusteeship, was the four page tabloid issued by FWD calling for the election of its slate committed to a detailed program designed to place the local in the hands of the ranks and projecting a militant program of struggle against the transport bosses. Key points were the 40

hour work week, organization of the unorganized, affiliation with the CLC, support of the new party, preparations for effective negotiations, the building of a Canadian strike fund, co-operation not bondage to the International.

In the process of the campaign a rash of vicious red baiting leaflets attacking FWD, some signed and others unsigned, hit the barns. One went so far as to declare that some members of the local facing a charge of arson in a \$300,000 fire were guilty, in order to get at the FWD presidential candidate, business agent of the barn involved. On nomination day McDougall, combined with another opposition bloc, attempted to smear FWD by red-baiting the Political Action committee and prominent FWD supporters on it who are strong backers of the new party.

The election with McDougall winning the presidency, was a gain for Canadian Teamster director Casey Dodds over a bloc headed by Duke Thompson, and witnessed the rout and probable break-up of the former opposition forces headed by Mat Nealon.

In their election issue FWD promised "win, lose or draw in this election FWD intends to go to press on a regular basis."

XXXXXXXXXX

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XXXXXXXXXX

Queen St W

February 8, 1961

Bernard Bloom
Social Democratic Club
Sir George Williams College
1435 Drummond Street
Montreal, Que.

Dear Friend;

A chap very well known to you at the college, active in the campaign for nuclear disarmament has suggested that I send along a small bundle of the Vanguard to your club for circulation. Unfortunately I cannot now recall his name. He is now residing in Toronto and working as a civil servant. He comes to the Vanguard forums on Sunday night here.

I would think that many of your members would find the Vanguard of considerable interest. We would be agreeable to sending you a small bundle on a regular basis for sale to anyone interested and the funds going to the treasury of the club there. We have already sent you a bundle of the latest issue. Would you drop us a line if you would like us to continue sending it on the above conditions.

fraternally

P. Kent

February 1961

THE ARMS RACE? OR



THE HUMAN RACE?

No Nuclear Arms For Canada

HEAR
PROFESSOR J. GORDIN KAPLAN
JOHN B. WITCHELL

Thursday, February 9, 8:30 p.m.

**QUEEN ELIZABETH
AUDITORIUM**

SPONSORED BY THE B.C. COMMITTEES ON RADIATION HAZARDS

(Vancouver - found in 1961)

THE SOCIALIST FORUM

875 EAST HASTINGS

For the coming period the Forum Committee has arranged an interesting series of discussions which we believe you will find stimulating and informative.

Feb. 10th:

"The Union dues check-off"
What about it?

Feb. 24th:

"Unemployment, an economic disease. Is it curable? What can be done ~~next~~ to ease the pain of it?

March 10th:

"The Cold War. Who is the real aggressor?

March 24th:

"The Population Explosion."
Is this a real danger?

These Forums are scheduled for Friday nights starting at 8 p.m. The speakers are conversant with their topics but not, we hope, all of one point of view. Each session is followed by ~~xxx~~ a friendly social discussion over coffee & what have you.

THIS WEEK:

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10th.
at 8 p.m.

Topic:

"THE UNION DUES
CHECK-OFF"

What about it?

With a good look at
pending
Labour Legislation.

SPEAKERS:

SAM JENKINS

Pres. Marine Workers &
Boilermakers Union.

TOM McGRATH

Business Agent, Canadian
Ironworkers Union.

FRED McNEIL

Labour Council Delegate,
Local 507, I.L.G.W.U.

Chairman:

MALCOLM BRUCE

Everyone is invited to
participate
from the floor.

~~Minutes~~ Minutes of the PC meeting of the 14th Feb. 61

Present: Strong, Bannon, Adair, Kent--absent with reason, Cotton.

Minutes: Read and adopted.

Business arising out of the minutes:

The PC noted that the BC NC members have not responded to the req- by the PC that they should hold Vancouver NC meetings. It was also noted that there had been no correspondence from the West Coast on this question. Branch #1 minutes: Re motion regarding the urging of a setting up of an internal discussion bulletin.

Discussion. The PC could not see the relation of the Munzer question to the urging of a setting up of an internal discussion bulletin. It was elaborated that the center is always open to receiving material of an internal nature for publication in bulletin form, this being one of the facilities that always exists in the party. As things now stand, ~~with~~ ~~the party~~, there is no serious technical problems standing in the way of material being published in Toronto.

Vanguard:

It was brought to the attention of the PC that the Vancouver City Ex. secty. had inquired as to the possibility of publishing the paper twice-monthly. The consensus of opinion was that, aside from finances, technically we could do it but the energy involved would be so great, other party activities would be neglected. Publishing the paper twice-monthly was also questioned from the point of view of it being necessary at this time. Discussed at length was the typography of the Vanguard with comparisons being drawn from the Newsletter, the Militant and Young Socialist.

Motion: In order to give a 'lighter' appearance to the paper and as an experiment, we drop the column rules from the Mid-March edition. Crd.

Annual Financial Drive:

Discussion. Motion: We set a national total of \$2,000 for the campaign, recommending that Toronto raise \$1300; Vancouver raise \$500 or

more and that the starting date of the campaign be from March 15th. to May 1st. Carried.

Motion: The post of national director of the campaign should be combined ~~with~~ with the Toronto person who is elected to the financial campaign post.Crd.

Letter from comrade Douglas:

Raised a number of points regarding an appraisal after 6 months of operation of the Van. City Exec. Douglas suggested the possibility of inviting Comrade Fraser from the south to give an evaluation of the of the situation.

Discussion. It was the considered opinion of the PC that the bringing in of Fraser would be unacceptable to Branch #1. The PC felt that as the City Exec had been the functioning joint committee in Vancouver, it would be normal to ask it to make an appraisal, but, since the committee is not constituted on a parity basis, we feel instead that the individual branches should each make an evaluation, draw a balance sheet and submit recommendations to the PC-- particularly now that we are approaching the end of the 6 month period.

'Preliminary Draft-Program' and 'The World Around Us' :

Discussion. PC did not understand the circumstances of the development of the documents nor did they understand their purpose. It was pointed out that the documents did not come out fully and identify themselves in a positive manner with the NP. The PC felt that the documents should attempt to grapple with the arguments of the right-wing and attempt to link themselves up with the embryonic struggles of the NP (left) and on issues which they are fighting now. Kent said: "The documents ~~suggest~~ ^{give} the impression that they were something drawn up to realize a fusion between our forces and some other tendency such as the Young Group. They were not a program to unite the socialist, and mobilize the militants in the NP."

In relation to the WAR and Peace aspect of the program it was noted that it did not spell out specifically support for the slogan "With-

Minutes

drawal from Nato and Norad² and referendum on Nuclear Arms.

The PC ~~thought that~~ thinks they are quite inadequate to be presented by us to any conference for the purpose of rallying the future left-wing of the NP.*

Motion. Due to the urgency of the situation we send a "night letter" to Van. asking the comrades not to submit the documents as formal documents to ~~the~~^{any} conference, this to be followed by a letter which would explain more fully the PC's position.

Meeting adjourned at 10.30 pm.

*NP = New Party (initial name of NDP)
-ed.

(Form in 1961)

TRADE UNIONS and the NEW PARTY

a socialist point of view by —————

ROSS DOWSON

Editor--WORKERS VANGUARD

SHOULD TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT THE NEW PARTY?

If so, what kind of program does it need?
what perspective should it project?
and how could this be realized?

WHAT'S TO BE DONE ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE ANTI-LABOR DRIVE

Is 30 for 40 the answer to lay-offs
Selective immigration?
Retraining, development of new skills?
Are the anti-labor laws just a passing phase ?
Can we live with them?

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE PRESENT WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP?

Is it capable of meeting the present problems?
Do we need a new leadership?
If so, how is it to be built ?

QUESTIONS

DISCUSSION

SUNDAY FEB 19

2 PM

Genoshawa Hotel

CORVAIR ROOM

Auspices; Socialist Educational League
81 Queen Street West, Toronto

Read the Vanguard
12 issues-50 cents

Vancouver

THE SOCIALIST FORUM

875 EAST HASTINGS

B.C. HARDEST HIT IN JOBLESS SURGE

This is a headline in the Sun of February 15. Seventy-seven thousand persons are listed as unemployed in B.C. in January. Multiply this by four - which represents a family - and we begin to get a better idea of what this means in deprivation, discomfort, and insecurity.

Friday, Feb. 24, "UNEMPLOYMENT AN ECONOMIC DISEASE" will be the Socialist Forum topic and the speakers Carl Erickson & Jerry Houle are unusually well qualified to deal with their subject. They will tell us what is being done and what more they feel can be done and they would like your comment.

These Forums are held every other Friday night at 8 PM. Each session is followed by a friendly social discussion & sandwiches with coffee.

March 10th:

"The Cold War - who is the real aggressor?"

March 24:

"The Population Explosion - is this a real danger?"

March 29th or 30th:

Dr. Arnette T. Rubinstein will again be in Vancouver - watch for a further announcement.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1961
at 8 P.M.

TOPIC:

UNEMPLOYMENT
AN ECONOMIC DISEASE

SPEAKERS:

CARL ERICKSON

Carpenters & Joiners of America

JERRY HOULE

B.C. Federation of Unemployed

CHAIRMAN:

W.L. McNeil

Grainliners - I.L.W.U.

There will be an audience forum period in which you may put forward your ideas, experiences, or ask questions on the topic of the evening. Come and bring a friend.

THE SOCIALIST FORUM
875 E. Hastings

WE SHOULD VOTE ON NUCLEAR ARMS

The Workers Vanquard

Mid-February, 1961

Vol. 6, No. 1(61)



Toronto—Price 5 cents

NTL Fair Play for Cuba Cmttee Launched at Toronto Mass Rally

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee launched in Toronto last month took a giant step forward with a mass meeting held in the First Unitarian Congregation on February 19th. Almost 400 turned out to hear guest speaker Samuel Shapiro, professor of history at Michigan State University, and a well-known writer on Latin American affairs, speak on Perspectives for Cuba.

The meeting was opened by Ternal Olson, chairman of the committee, who read to the interested audience a series of letters from prominent Canadians expressing their solidarity with its aims. Of the original sponsors, which included Professor Kenneth McNaught of the history department of the University of Toronto, the Reverend John Morgan of the First Unitarian Congregation, and Professor L. Dewart of the philosophy department, St. Michael's College, U of T, only the latter was able to attend.

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Citizen of '58 meets Citizen of '61



Canada's Citizen of the Year 1958, Maurice Ruddick, when in Toronto dropped in to see Citizen of the Year 1960, Reverend Morris Zeldman who administers the Scott Mission soup line. Standing in the line-up outside Ruddick (right) spotted an unemployed friend, Patrick Taylor (left), typical Canadian citizen of the year 1961. Ruddick, who won international acclaim for his heroic actions during the Springhill mine disaster in 1958 has stayed on there but has found no work since. Taylor told him that he had been across the continent and back but had found no work.

UN COMPRISED IN LUMUMBA MURDER

Due to the admission of the shocking murder of Patrice Lumumba and two of his aides, which set off protest demonstrations across the world, the UN has confessed that the Kasavubu government, which it recognized last November, is gravely implicated in the murder of at least six more Lumumba government officials in South Kasai.

Thus the destruction of what was the officially elected government of the Congolese Republic is almost complete. It was recognized as such when Lumumba himself came to the UN and to Canada last summer seeking aid. It was recognized as such when the UN intervened in the Congo, with the support of the Soviet delegate, with the alleged purpose of preventing class and keeping the cold war out of the African continent.

Now the government and almost all its key personnel have been destroyed. The economy has been shattered. Everywhere there is chaos. Tribal warfare is rife—sections of the population are starving.

Today, after seven months of intervention, the UN is authorized to strengthen its personnel in the Congo, to use force if necessary, to reorganize Congolese armed forces, to move vigorously press for the withdrawal of Belgian and all other foreign military advisors. There is talk about trusteeship, the formation of some "loose federal government."

US Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, presents the UN as "the only institution which offers an alternative to imperialism." But the record shows that in effect UN intervention has only served as a mask to imperialist intervention and is in effect an instrument of imperialist policy.

The old Belgian imperialist exploiters blocked the formation of a strong central government through their puppet Tshombe who proclaimed the mineral rich Katanga province a separate country. They are paying no more attention to the UN than De Gaulle when the question of Algeria has come up, than the South African government to discussions on its apartheid policies, than the US when it moved into Guatemala, or Britain and France when they launched their assault on the Suez.

Tshombe is building up armed

See page 4—UN IN CONGO

Says J. B. Witchell to 2,000 in Vancouver

By PAUL MACPHERSON

"Canadians must be allowed to vote on whether they want nuclear arms in Canada," declared John B. Witchell to 2,000 people in Vancouver. Witchell's proposal got a warm response from the audience who were looking for some means of mobilizing the Canadian people in a struggle to keep nuclear weapons out of Canada.

The February 9th meeting in the posh Queen Elizabeth Auditorium, which was sponsored by the B.C. Committees on Radiation

Hazards, heard Witchell state that the government must grant this national referendum because this is a democratic country. Then the overwhelming majority of Canadians will vote NO to nuclear arms in Canada.

John B. Witchell is a professional engineer, who quit his \$6,500 a year job with the Canadian Defense Research Board in 1959 rather than go along with the government's military policies. Despite his having a wife and six children to support, and a good job with many years seniority, Witchell was compelled by his conscience to speak out against the government's "actively pursuing a policy that leads straight to war." A policy which he declares is "not a defence policy."

He stated that this policy must be changed, or, if it is not, then the government must be changed. He said that the Diefenbaker government may be using Mr. Green's efforts in the UN on disarmament as a "smoke screen," knowing that these efforts are doomed to failure. Then Diefenbaker can attempt to justify the nuclear arming of Canada by saying "well, we have tried."

Speaking about the hopes raised in people's minds by the new Kennedy administration, both Witchell and the other featured speaker, Professor Gordon Kaplan of Dalhousie University, pointed out that the Kennedy administration "appears ready" to perpetuate the same old policies of the Eisenhower regime. Witchell went on to describe one of the projects that the Kennedy administration is pushing ahead—a hovering bomb satellite. This satellite H bomb will hover over a city like the sword of Damocles. A flip of a switch is all that would be necessary to destroy millions of people.

Professor Kaplan dealt mainly with the dangers of radiation and the folly of dumping atomic wastes in the sea. He exposed how the University of B.C. authorities had been secretly dumping radioactive waste materials in the Pacific off Vancouver Island.

Kaplan called Canadian Defense Minister Douglas Harkness' attacks on ban the bomb movements an example of primitive thinking. Referring to a statement by Dr. Scrum of UBC that only communists support ban the bomb movements, he said that "we should not suffer fools gladly" and that this type of thinking was the "product of a sick mind." If only communists are in favor of banning the bomb then we would be fools not to be communists, he said.

Kaplan held up Dr. Edwin Teller, AEC nuclear scientist, and proponent of bomb testing, as an example of "the liars, hypocrites and fools who advocate survival of the human race through a program of underground bomb shelters."

TRUTH ON CUBA

Castro has "changed the history of our continent" more in two years than it had been changed in the century, according to Father R. J. Ogle, rector of the St. Plus Seminary, Saskatoon. He told Kiwanians that Latin America is "in a state of almost open explosion" and that nobody should be fooled by the fact that other Latin American countries were breaking off relations with Cuba. They don't represent the people.

WHY NOT A VOTE ASKS CCF LEADER

"Why, for example, should Canadians not decide whether or not we want American nuclear bases to be established in Canada? Why should we not be deciding whether or not we want to commit racial suicide by roasting or poisoning the world's people by nuclear explosions and fall out," asks William Irvine in his December 21 column, regularly appearing in the SAS-KATCHEWAN CCF COMMONWEALTH. "We are asked to vote on who shall govern Canada."

Jobless Won't Fade Away Shorter Work-Week Answer

With the first spring zephyr and the slightest falter in the sharply soaring unemployment figure we will be hearing all kinds of pious chatter. Unemployment will be presented as no longer the grave social question that it is, but a matter of concern to only the unemployed themselves.

But it will not be shoved aside so easily—should even a slight seasonal adjustment show up in the cold statistics of the unemployment insurance commission. Unemployment is not a temporary disease in the body of capitalism but an organic part of it. It is not a phenomenon associated with any particular season of the past year, or with any particular year of the past decade. In fact the situation confronting us has been building up for over a decade.

The work force in the CNR-CPR has dropped 19 per cent—from 179,315 in 1952 to 145,348 in 1959. Employment in the electrical industry is down 13,000 from 1956. Canadian textile mills which employed 97,000 in 1950 now employ 74,000.

Aside from the impact of over-capitalization, the loss of portions of the world market—automation—the twentieth century technological revolution—is gouging into the Canadian work force.

The Diefenbaker government has shoved aside any real responsibility in this matter. The high points in its efforts to solve the problem have been to put more sleuths on the unemployment insurance payroll to harass and penalize the odd worker who tries to move through its legal chinks, and to allocate funds to retrain workers—in Ontario some 250 of the estimated 202,000 unemployed—at trades for which there is already no demand.

But two serious propositions that have been advanced to come

See page 3—SHORTER WORK WEEK

NTL Fair Play for Cuba Cmttee Launched at Toronto Mass Rally

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Cuba and Canadian Labor

What should our attitude be to Cuba? From reading the daily press Canadian labor should have no hesitation in condemning the Castro regime. But we have had long experience with the daily press, with their innuendos, their distortions and even outright lies, when it comes to dealing with labor. Why should we believe the press now, on Cuba?

Delegates to last fall's convention of the BC Federation of Labor decided to send their top officers for an on-the-spot examination of the situation. Overleaf we reproduce an exchange of correspondence on this question between CLC President Jodoin and the secretary of the Prince Rupert Labor Council, and recent CCF candidate, Angus Macphee;

Do brother Jodoin's comments flow from reading the daily press and the highly slanted reports on Cuba which have appeared in the Canadian edition of UAW SOLIDARITY? We agree with the St. Johns EXAMINER that these and other statements issued by the ICFTU and ORIT are highly suspect, to say the least. We reproduce below an editorial from the EXAMINER, a fighting weekly whose associate editor is Ed Finn Jr. - the youthful leader of the New Party forces in Newfoundland.

Who and what to believe? The best way to answer this question is for organized labor to send responsible representatives from its own ranks to Cuba and have them report back to the labor movement.

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE, Box 923, Adelaide St. P. O., Toronto, Canada

MARCH 18, 1961

The Examiner

Published by The Examiner Ltd.,
131 Bond Street, St. John's, Newfoundland
Subscription Rates: \$5 per year in Canada
\$6 per year elsewhere

P.O. Box 546, St. John's, Newfoundland
Printed by Robinson & Co. Ltd., St. John's

Authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa
Advertising Manager Malcolm McLaren
Associate Editor Ed. Finn, Jr.
Managing Editor Harold Horwood

Cuba and the ICFTU

The fact that the present Cuban government is a dictatorship, and that certain liberties, including the freedom to strike, are suppressed, does not warrant our joining the American cold war against Cuba, or endorsing the somewhat hysterical accusations of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Castro's Cuba has been denounced by the ICFTU, by the AFL-CIO, and by ORIT, the Latin-American branch of the ICFTU. The latter goes so far as to say that the Cuban people today are "shackled by the cruelest tyranny which has oppressed them in their entire history," thereby prejudicing their entire case. For when anyone falls back upon such an obvious untruth as this their other statements naturally come under suspicion.

The ICFTU and ORIT do not have so perfect a record in Latin America that they can afford to cast stones ever at Castro's Cuba. "Unions" affiliated to both those organizations flourished in Cuba under the Batista regime, which really WAS the cruelest tyranny ever suffered by people in the western hemisphere, in this century. The fact that the ICFTU recognized and accepted the puppet organizations which were dominated by the unspeakable monster who ruled Cuba before Castro is nothing to the ICFTU's credit. Not until 1958, when it was tottering on the verge of collapse, did ORIT get around to condemning the Batista regime; and the first condemnation by the

ICFTU came only a few weeks earlier. That, also, is nothing to the ICFTU's credit.

The writer of this article has visited a number of so-called Latin American democracies, with unions affiliated to ORIT and the ICFTU. These same countries are American economic colonies, where the condition of the workers is so wretched as to be almost beyond belief.

Castro's revolution was not fought mainly against Batista, who was only a puppet if a brutal one, but against the American imperial corporations, which owned Cuba, still own most of Latin America. The statement of ORIT, that "The Castro government has destroyed in Cuba the foundations of democracy," is a falsehood, for the foundations of democracy—either political or economic—never existed in Cuba. Castro has not brought democracy, but at least he has brought a measure of economic justice to a country which never knew anything except the most ruthless foreign exploitation.

Castro conducted a "purge" in the Cuban unions, that is true. And some of the purged leaders may well have been supporters of true democracy. But a great many of them were the supporters of Batista, the agents and spies which the tyrant used to control the labour movement in his puppet state. Cuba never had a free labour movement. To accuse Castro of suppressing such a free movement is nothing but stinking hypocrisy.

The ICFTU stands for many things which we endorse and support: for unions democratically controlled, free of Communist domination; for the defeat of the present regime in Belgium; for the right of workers everywhere to organize and bargain with their employers, whether they be private corporations or the corporate State; for the end of the colonial empires. But its invitation to us to join the American cold war against Cuba, to support the American economic aggression against that country, or to endorse the efforts of the American corporations to arm and finance a counter-revolution—that invitation we most emphatically refuse and denounce.

The Canadian labour movement has no business taking unto itself such allies as the American oil and sugar corporations, or the cloak-and-dagger operators of the OSS.

March, 1961

The Western

PULP and PAPER WORKER

Official monthly paper, published by the Western Canada Council of Pulp and Paper Mill Unions in British Columbia
O. BRAATEN
Address: Suite 1, 525 West Pender Street, Vancouver 2, B.C.

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Jodoin-MacPhee Discuss Cuba

Mr. A. MacPhee,
Secretary,
Prince Rupert Labour Council,
P.O. Box 5,
Prince Rupert, B.C.
Dear Sir and Brother:

I acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 12th, protesting the alleged actions of the Canadian Labour Congress in connection with the resolution adopted by the B.C. Federation of Labour on Cuba. There have been all sorts of reports on the Congress attitude to this question and in order to set the record straight, I am sending you a copy of my letter to Secretary Treasurer E. P. O'Neal, which to date is the only formal letter sent from the officers of the Congress on this matter.

You raise in your letter the question of the constitutional relationship between the Canadian Labour Congress and provincial federations of labour. You seem to be convinced that Congress has no right to interfere with decisions of provincial federations of labour. You even claim that this issue is "not debatable." May I refer you to Article 13 of the CLC Constitution (revised, April, 1960) which states in Section 1 "Central bodies subordinate to the Congress shall be established and chartered upon a provincial, city or other regional basis," etc. On the basis of Section 3 of the same article of the Constitution the Executive Council has issued during 1957 rules governing the conduct and activities of such bodies. These rules are contained in a booklet entitled "Labour Council Manual", which under the heading "Rules for Federations of Labour and Local Labour Councils states in paragraph 1: "Federations of Labour and local Labour Councils shall be chartered by and subordinate to the Canadian Labour Congress."

And in paragraph 7: "Federations of Labour shall confine their activities to the Province of their charter. They, of course shall retain the right to make representation to the Canadian Labour Congress on matters of a national character."

It is unmistakably clear that the Congress has the constitutional right to question certain decisions taken by provincial federations of labour.

There are many cogent and logical reasons why the Canadian Labour Congress has adopted these decision and rules. Had we not done so, our national organization would not be able to function effectively and would merely become a collection of independent, provincial regional and city-wide organizations, each pursuing its own independent policy on national and international matters, without regard to the national character of our organization.

We are interested in debates on national and international issues at the level of local and regional organizations. We welcome recommendations from these organizations, but for the sake of an effective national operation the lines of demarcation must be drawn as to the respective duties, responsibilities and activities of the national organization and the organizations which are chartered and subordinate to the national organization.

As to the political implications of the decision to send a delegation to Cuba, I refer you to my letter to Brother O'Neal. May I add that the ICFTU is not aware of the decision of the B.C. Federation of Labour, and could not, therefore, have sent us any advice on this matter. But I must emphasize that if a decision is to be taken on this question it has to be taken by the national organization and not by a provincial federation of labour, whose advice and opinion on this matter we welcome, reserving of course, the right to disagree.

The Canadian Labour Congress has at no time favoured punitive action in the field of trade or otherwise against the Cuban government. This does not mean, however, that we have to lend moral support to the actions of that government in subverting the trade union movement of Cuba into a tool of the state and lending moral support to that organization.

It appears from some of the critics of our policy that the international free trade union movement has declared war on Cuba. The opposite, of course, is true. The ICFTU did not exclude the Cuban Confederation of Labor from its ranks. This Confederation

Mr. Claude Jodoin,
President,
Canadian Labour Congress,
100 Argyle Avenue,
Ottawa.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your letter in answer to our criticism on the Congress' position on Cuba has been received and heard by our Council delegates. Since our letter appeared in the Western Pulp and Paper Worker, it was agreed that your answer should be given the same publicity.

We do not agree with you that structurally our Federations and Councils are subordinate to the Congress, that National and International policy should be finalized at National Conventions and be administered by the Congress Executive between National meetings.

However, we repeat that to our knowledge no policy exists on the Cuban question that was made in National Convention. To say that no interim policies can be shaped by the Federations or Councils unless approved by a National Executive in advance is centralism at its most destructive. It is to use the Constitution as a refuge for inactivity and indecision.

However, in this particular instance it should be noted there was actually no policy set by the B.C. Federation of Labour. The resolution passed merely endorsed a delegation to investigate, in order that policy should be decided in the future. Your letter, of course, has now set policy, without debate and without democratic decision. The Congress has not, in fact, utilized the foresight to initiate a discussion on such an important matter. The Canadian movement can hardly be expected to await a National Convention to even discuss the advisability of investigating the nature and direction of the

severed its relations with the ICFTU unilaterally and against the will of the majority of its active people. It then proceeded to organize a rival trade union federation in the Americas, which action, fortunately, did not meet with any success. The Cuban Confederation of Labour stands today isolated in the Americas, having lost its closest friends and at this time enjoying the support of only those who in the past have fought our movement — the remnants of the WFTU affiliates on this continent.

Cuban revolution. You have taken a political position against the Castro government by categorizing it as one "determined to destroy the Canadian Labour Movement" and interpreting a delegation to mean "comfort to this regime." This decision is an I.C.F.T.U. decision only.

Brother Jodoin, the Canadian Movement does not import decisions, not even from the A.F. of L., C.I.O., the I.C.F.T.U. or the O.R.I.T. We need go no further than our political position to establish that point.

Now I would suppose, and certainly hope, that the I.C.F.T.U. did not arrive at its

decision in absentia, but by first hand observation. How then can we deny this same method to the trade unionists of British Columbia? While the Congress has the Constitutional right to discipline affiliates for pursuing a contradictory policy it has certainly no practical means of preventing, or interfering with, delegations from National or International affiliates, or of joint delegates from such bodies. To prevent the B.C. Federation of Labour being the vehicle to accomplish a common end is mere formality, and without intelligent bearing on the nature of the matter.

In conclusion, let me make what may be considered a political observation. It is possible that we may find more sympathy with the program of the Canadian Labour Congress among the trade unionists of Cuba than in the cabinet offices in Ottawa. There seems no limitation to our delegations in that direction.

Yours fraternally,
Angus MacPhee,
Secretary,
Prince Rupert Labour Council
February 10, 1961.

We have refrained from making public statements on this issue, because of our desire not to add to the already aggravated international situation. We feel, however, that the Canadian labour movement should not give aid and comfort to those who are determined to destroy it.

Hoping that you will understand our position and with best wishes for the New Year, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
Claude Jodoin,
President.
December 29, 1960.

DEMOCRACY KEY TO BUILDING NEW PARTY

Time is slipping past. It is only five months now from the founding of the new labor party. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians from all walks of life have to be talked to, informed of the general aims of the party, their doubts overcome, and as many as possible convinced of the necessity to join the new party.

But what are the top echelons of the Ontario CCF and trade union movement preoccupied with? Certainly not with creating the most favorable atmosphere to build the party. They are busy restricting the membership of the party, creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion—with keeping certain persons out of the party.

There were few motions of any kind before the annual Toronto and District CCF convention this month—practically none on policy and nothing on how to swing things into motion—but there was one on organization barring admission to Communists—and Trotskyists! The front page of the Jan.-Feb. Ontario Federation of Labor PAC Memo was taken up with an outline of the third step in building the basic organizational machinery for the new party—committees for the new party—at the local level. Instead of outlining ideas as to how to make these committees more dynamic, more effective party builders—it establishes as a key point, who can't be on them. This time bars are raised not only on members of Communist and Trotskyist groups, but against persons "associated with" such groups or "any of their front organizations."

The some 300 CCF and new party activists who attended this month's rally called by the Metro Toronto New Party Committee were warned by chairman Sefton about the efforts of the Trotskyists in and around the new party to "win friends and influence people."

What do the top CCF and trade union brass hope to gain? Are they suggesting that the class struggle socialists both in and out of the CCF and who support the new party 100 per cent. and thus have every right to participate with at least all the privileges being so freely granted to erstwhile Liberal and Tory supporters; that the Communists, who don't support the new party anyway, are some kind of a threat to the democratic fabric of the new party? Are they preparing to take actions in its "defence" by cutting democracy out of the new party?

What an auspicious beginning this is—that they should stir up the old squabbles, the old hatreds, slanders, and commence to clamp down the restrictions that crippled the CCF, to foul up the atmosphere around the new party before it is even launched!

Do they really think that by they themselves red baiting, by protesting their purity from all radical intent, that they can forestall the capitalist politicians and their venal hangers-on from red baiting the new party? Vain hope! When they smell fear, the witch hunters only become bolder.

Let's make the new party really new—genuinely democratic, encompassing all those who identify themselves with its purpose, where all views are heard. Then the Canadian working class, knowing that in the clash of ideas the truth will be arrived at and will prevail in its ranks, can face the future with confidence.

BC Labor Urges NP Adopt Unilateral Disarmament

The delegates to the Vancouver Labor Council have expressed sharp disagreement with the Canadian Labor Congress leadership's position that Canada should remain tied to the NATO military alliance. By an overwhelming majority, at their March 21 meeting, they passed a resolution that originated from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and was endorsed by the council executive. It expressed a powerful desire that the new party should take a clear stand for unilateral disarmament. A motion to table the resolution was defeated by a wide margin and it was adopted as amended. The resolution follows:

Whereas the CCF national convention, held in Regina in 1960, called for Canada to withdraw from NATO, NORAD and all such regional alliances and to refuse acceptance of nuclear arms for Canada, and

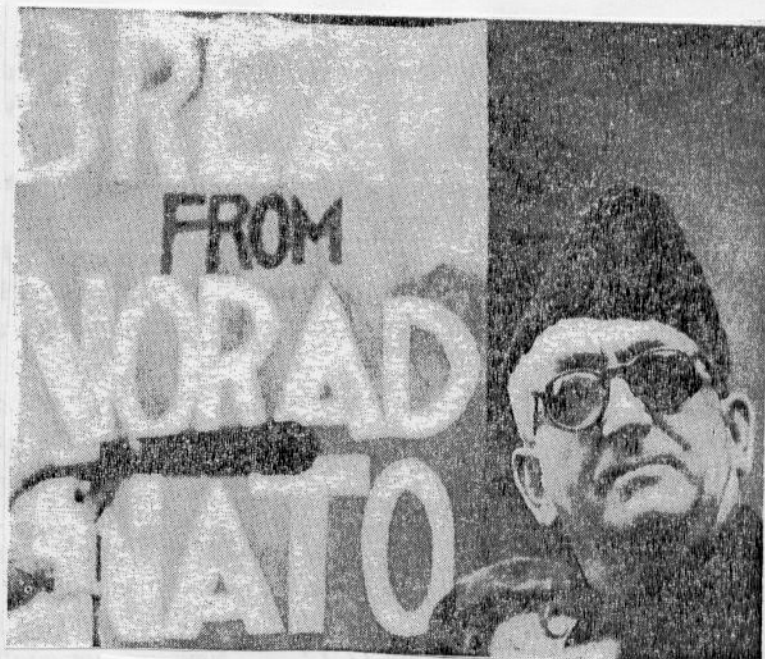
Whereas the Fifth Convention of the BC Federation of Labor held in Vancouver in 1960 also called for total disarmament for Canada,

Therefore be it resolved that the Vancouver and District Labor Council goes on record as endorsing this policy of unilateral disarmament for Canada, and

Further be it resolved that the Vancouver and District Labor Council immediately inform the national liaison committee of the CLC for the New Party that it is the wish of labor in British Columbia that the proposed policy on international affairs to be presented to the founding convention of the new party include unilateral disarmament for Canada.

Amendment: That the money saved by this policy should be utilized to build homes, hospitals, schools, etc., with a substantial portion sent to the support of the United Nations.

There were several strong speeches attacking the UN as an instrument of imperialism. Bill Stewart of the Marine-workers, a leading CPer, defended the UN with the argument — "its all we have . . . We don't want to smash the UN—only the reactionaries in the US are preparing to do that."



Braving a chilling rain, nearly 2,000 anti nuclear arms demonstrators gathered in Toronto's city hall square to hear Rabbi Feinberg and Professor McNaught, following their march down Yonge St. Despite Feinberg's presentation of the peace issue as being above politics, by pointing to the mock differences within government circles, this demonstration highlighted many placards such as the above which were in direct conflict with the Diefenbaker government's arms drive.

BCers Urge NP Adopt A Socialist Program

A document is now being circulated by some BC CCFers that is extremely important to all new party supporters and particularly those who want to see the party adopt a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

It is essentially a draft program that stands counter-posed to the draft program being circulated by the New Party National Committee.

According to a foreword it "is the outcome of a series of meetings held in the greater Vancouver area," composed of a "representative grouping of the Greater Vancouver CCF members and trade unionists, serious supporters of the New Party" who are "deeply concerned by the whole approach to the coming Founding Convention . . . about the weakness of the initial draft program and the bureaucratic concepts of organizational form."

Its authors consider it not as a finalized statement of principle or program but "a starting point for a principled socialist policy caucus in the New Party in BC," and invite comments. Copies of the document can be obtained from George Brown, Apt. 404, 309 Agnes Street, New Westminster.

An introductory comment entitled, *The World Around Us*, together with the preamble, certainly meet the criticisms of the Alberta section of the CCF. Last year's Alberta convention urged the deletion from the National Committee's draft program of three whole sections which it charged motivated the new party with "cold war created hates, fears and competition."

This document, while clearly identifying itself with the struggle of the peoples in the Soviet bloc to establish political democracy on the nationalized property relations, would give the new labor party a clear anti-capitalist aim. It sees capitalism as the war threat and as a system of chronic unemployment which must be eliminated by the working class taking political power, nationalizing the basic means of production, distribution and exchange, and setting into "motion an integrated planned economy dedicated to the interests of all Canadians."

To defend the immediate interests of the Canadian workers, to mobilize them to place a workers and farmers government into office, the draft advances some effective planks. It would commit the new party to the position adopted by the last CCF national convention—for withdrawal from all military alliances such as NATO and NORAD, and unilateral disarmament. It urges that the new party seek a referendum on the question of nuclear arms in Canada and demand that funds now being spent on instruments of death and destruction be allocated to the building of low rental housing, hospitals, medical care, etc.

To meet the problem of unemployment it highlights the demand for the immediate establishment of the 30 hour week in industry and commerce, with no reduction in take-home-pay.

A whole series of ideas are developed under the headings: Agriculture, Health and Welfare, Education, Democratic Rights, Labor's Rights, Socialization of Industry.

We anticipate with its authors that this document will strike a powerful response in the ranks of new party supporters and will play the role that it should in this key period of the shaping of the new party. Write for your copy.

AROUND THE NEW PARTY

NATIONALIZE COAL

A resolution calling for the public ownership of the coal mining industry in Nova Scotia was advanced in the last session of the legislature there. The CCF caucus, undaunted by attacks on nationalization by CCF-New Party leaders such as T. C. Douglas who calls it a fetish, placed the motion on the books. The Tory Stanfield government defeated the motion with a counter proposal, passed on March 11, that is designed to feed more public funds, both provincial and federal, into the trough for the profit-fat Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation.

Last October, when it closed several other mines, Dosco announced its intention to close the Caledonia Colliery, employing 800 at Glace Bay, on January 14—others at later unspecified dates. But the federal and Nova Scotia governments jumped to their aid and gave them another \$3 million from taxpayers' funds which caused Dosco to announce postponement of the Caledonia shutdown until May 31—Florence until July 1, and No. 16 at New Waterford until August 12. The millions that have been fed into the maw of the coal bosses could have paid for nationalization several times over and helped solve the situation in Nova Scotia by integrating the NS mines in a national power and energy grid. As it is, the Maritime coal miners and their families continue to live from crisis to crisis.

ROUT CCF BRASS

The annual Toronto and District CCF Council convention revealed what has long been suspected by many new party supporters—that there is growing conflict between the trade unionists and the old guard CCFers over the building of the new labor party.

One of the points at issue at the conference, attended by some 70 delegates, was a resolution proposing postponement of nomination of candidates for the next federal election. Many trade unionists supporting the resolution to leave nominations until after the August founding convention argued that it was essential that new party supporters have an opportunity to participate in the nominating of candidates. Underlying their argument was the fear that early nominations would favor the CCF machine and assure their control of the new party organization.

Unable to bypass the old CCF organization machine, which they claim has been sitting on top of and holding down new party developments, the trade unionists circulated a slate of candidates, headed by Steel leader Bill Sefton, for council offices.

The elections saw the trade union slate take the majority, successfully ousting Ken Bryden, Ontario MLA, notorious right-winger and red-baiter, and Catholic actionist Archie Chisholm.

Unfortunately, like many of the new party seminars of the past period, this conference failed to discuss any of the serious programmatic issues confronting the new party. One resolution introduced by the Eglinton club, advocating the elimination of religious instruction in the schools, saw the old CCF clique and the unionists join forces to defeat it. But the victory of the trade unionists will no doubt give an impetus to new party organizational work which so far has been limited to two or three Toronto ridings.

TORONTO NP RALLY

The Metro Toronto Committee for the New Party was launched at a meeting attended by 300 delegates representing all executive members of union locals affiliated to the Toronto and District Labor Council, executive members of the Toronto and District CCF Council and riding associations, and of new party clubs and the Council of New Party Clubs.

The meeting was confronted with a series of propositions around which the discussion developed. While not formally voted on, approval was given to the hiring of an executive secretary organizer and the appointment of a chairman of the committee drawn from the PEC of the Labor Council, a vice-chairman drawn from the new party council and a secretary-treasurer from the CCF.

The meeting was featured by sharp questioning from the floor concerning democratic representation for the new party clubs and the ethnic groups at the coming founding convention.

The basis of representation to constituency conventions to choose new party candidates in the coming federal election was laid down in the document circulated among the delegates. It is as follows: a vote will go to all CCF members who belong to the riding association, to all members of the New Party who live in the riding, to all unionists residing in the riding, providing that they are from locals affiliated to the CCF or locals affiliated to the CLC supporting the new party or from locals other than the above which are part of the new party structure.

The above gives the deciding weight to the unions and new party elements at the expense of the old CCF apparatus. And while it would take effect only if it were necessary to hold emergency nominations prior to the founding convention it is symptomatic of the broadening character of the movement.

CCF MLA Bryden attempted to bolster up the CCF organizationally by appealing for all-out support to the April membership drive of the CCF. However, it was obvious that the delegates were concerned about building the new party, not the CCF.

Need Your Aid In Fund Drive

There comes a time in the year when every organization finds it is necessary to take stock. We do not mean politically (though that is necessary too)—we mean financially.

This is the time when we look into our empty coffers and then take a long and hard look at our friends and supporters and ask you "How would you like to give us some aid?"

We are not a profit-making organization and it is not our intention to become such. Subscriptions do not begin to pay for the publication of this paper. In order to meet the printer's bill, we have to rely on the generosity of our friends and associates across the country—from the east coast to the west coast.

We want you to give us \$2,000 between now and May 1st. The reaction to a previous letter mailed out informing our sympathizers of the launching of the fund, has been inspiring. Vancouver has informed us that they will undertake to raise \$600 and more, and backed it up by planking \$127 on the line. Friends in Alberta promptly wrote in to tell us that we can depend on \$200. Toronto, where a number of the members of the Socialist Educational League are unemployed, has turned in \$199.50 and has set its sights to raise \$1,250.

Why don't you take stock too, and send us a donation—the largest you are able.

If we needed money last year to carry on our work we need it 10 times as much this year. 1961 will be the most crucial year in the Vanguard's existence. The new party is starting to roll and it is vital that the militants and socialists keep informed of the activities in the various constituencies across the country and arm themselves to launch the party off in the right direction.

Living up to our title, we have been in the forefront in reporting and organizing the fight for a socialist policy. With your help we can stay there and move out. Send in your contribution now to the Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen Street West, Toronto.

April 15, 1961
81 Queen St W
Toronto 1, Ont.

Dear Dick and Clara

Glad to receive your note of a couple of weeks ago, your observations and suggestions.

Yes, I am all for hanging tough on the convention ~~maximizing~~ decisions I agree that convention with Bill's document and the solid progress of Branch 2 was a big stride forward to solve our long paralyzing situation there. The executive authority of the city executive got lost --many had their hands in this....Branch 2--Jerry--and I suppose myself. We got so much of the old crap at this end I threw up my hands. Did you see all the correspondence that accumulated recently on who when how what why branch one did not hand over its share of the rent to branch two.

I am now in correspondence with both branch one and branch two which I think should tell us what the next moves are to be.

Not to be outdone by Bill and his ultimatum, over the signature of Reg and Malcolm we have a demand that we expell Munzer of branch 2. The basis of the demand is ~~xxxx~~ a verbatim report of a stupid gossipy conversation that Munzer had with another comrade which in my opinion doesn't constitute grounds for expulsion. But we need this type of thing like we need a hole in the head at this time. On top of that over the signature of Reg, Ruth and Fred we have a withdrawal of Branch 2 previous suggestion that the city executive extend its life another three months and then review, with a series of charges against Branch one, and a challenge that the PC demand that Branch one recognize and participate in the city executive. Here we are in a perfect defensive position with the authority of the national convention behind us and Branch two is going about muddying it up. I have asked them in the hope that these statements haven't gone out to Branch one to sit on them.

After they tabled Bill's demand for immediate unification at the March 29 city executive meeting and presumably received Bill's ultimatum "we therefore break from the framework established by the January resolution" --the January resolution having to do with joint use of the hall and sharing of the rent--on Rogers motion Branch two accepted the ultimatum all four voting that Branch two be requested to pay the rent with Harold abstaining. Instead of adopting Reg's proposed draft statement on unification of the SEL and SIC and getting Bill's signature on it they have referred it to the branches.

I have also written to Lillian who is on the NC and to ~~the~~ branch one. The draft program for the united SEL-SIC has been in their hands for some time now. Both Malcolm and Reg with minor changes have agreed to it. Lillian has referred to it in passing as being generally agreeable but possibly has some doubts if she goes over it again. I am pressing her to make a clear statement of agreement or suggest changes that we can consider. In line with the decision of our PC taken on Feb 14 I am demanding that the branch

send the PC an evaluation of the city executive experience and submit recommendations. We have also asked them by what authority do they decide to break from relations established by the city executive which was granted executive powers by the national convention. We have informed them that ~~this~~ latest action is not only at variance with the PC directive but ~~challenges~~ challenges the authority of the national convention.

Oh yes in my suggestion that we drop this crap about expelling Munzer I urged Reg and Malcolm to press Bill to put his name to the statement on the fusion of the SEL-SIC ~~xxxx~~ I wrote--" Now we are actually at the turning point in carrying out the convention line. We are at the point of no return for anyone who opposes the convention policy. Bill is going to have to sign it, to express his public agreement and to make the turn. Rather than get involved in side issues I think we should stand firmly and clearly on this matter. Here is the convention decision--the statement is in line with the convention decision is it not--then let us proceed --sign it along with us. Here we are on political grounds again--the grounds that we want to be on

I see you refer to Bill's split ultimatum--the Reg-Fred-Ruth document says that Branch one has withdrawn from the city executive. This is not at all clear from the minutes of the March 29 executive minutes. ~~The xxxxxxx~~ Bill's statement reads to the effect that Branch one breaks from the January resolution--that they are going to defy the executive authority of the city executive in this respect (and as I point out Branch two doesn't call them up on this) then it goes on--"If you are not seriously considering unification--then we propose that all in favor of a permanent character be dropped and leave us free to consider Branch 2 like we would any other left wing current in the BC movement. ~~XX~~ We would regret such an alternative as this last one, but we are prepared to move in that direction unless unification is forthcoming." The meeting continued on after all this to refer Reg's draft on the SIC-SEL unification etc and then formally adjourned. I have asked Branch two ~~xxxxxx~~ if Branch one has ~~xxxxxxx~~ withdrawn from the city executive to "set this down formally, in black and white--a statement from them, or refusal to attend further meetings etc. This should be done right away."

Yes, I think that your proposition of a control commission is a good one. But we need some response from Branch one to our correspondence--our challenge. It is not excluded that they will tie things up proper for us themselves and hand us a nice little package of withdrawal. There is really nothing there--except perhaps Harold and Charlie it seems to me Lillian's recent letters are cries of ~~dispair~~ despair about poor unappreciated Bill. McKinney given them life--as did Ruth--and Tom and Mona an excuse to function! This is all gone

At anyrate the next week or so should give us some insight into what move to make next.

Yes they did a job on Jerry didn't they--Vancouver has knocked everyone out from Barry Brent, Hugh, Bruce Batten, Alan on. I was opposed to his going out in the beginning although it wasn't through any fear for his political life. I am glad that you had a serious talk with him about his role there. You know he never agreed with the convention line which recognized branch two as the force to be cultivated. Like Branch two who thought that they could solve the Vancouver situation by an organizational rupture from one-Jerry thought he could solve a political question by pulling from both

and starting anew. Yes that is how Branch two treated Jerry as "Dowson's agent". It got so that Malcolm saw orders and directives streaming from Toronto here to Jerry...and I became almost afraid to write Jerry. Then when his conduct became quite scandalous instead of coming to grips with him they came crting to me to do something--letters from Winnie, Larry everyone.

our ~~xxxxxx~~ Let's hope--and pray---that Bill will deliver himself into ~~xxx~~ hands--and in the meantime keep our powder dry.

warmest regards

Ross

hope your additional is doing well--got the notive of the happy event about a month late as you had our old address.

I will either be going to Cuba sometime around July 26 or will see you at the convention.

Dear Comrades Brair and Douglas;

(Vancouver LSA)

15
April 15/61
JA JW

We have received your letter of April 9, 1961 and a copy of the ~~transcription~~ transcription of a telephone conversation between Trebor and Munzer. I will of course take this matter up as you request with the PC. But in the meantime I would like to give you my impressions and would like to get your opinion on them as soon as possible.

I think it would be a mistake to press a matter of this kind at this time. We have received a copy of Whitney's statement to the city executive and the minutes of that executive meeting. This is the big development which we must come to grips with and while it is not unrelated to the Munzer conversation I do not see how it will help us in anyway to grapple with the major problem. On the contrary while it may be thought to ~~bring~~ bring more light on the problem in my opinion it only serves to misdirect things along minor channels.

In the same way I think that the April 7 statement signed by H F and R does not help things at this time. It puts Branch one on the offensive rather than on the defensive, a much more powerful position where it is reinforced by the national convention.

From here it looks like at long last we may be able to establish our relations on a sound political and organizational basis. The national convention marked a big stride in this direction which unfortunately we did not take full advantage of. But we are there again.

I see from the minutes that comrade Briar presented to the city executive a proposed draft statement on unification of the SIC and the SEL (we have not received a copy of it). Now we are actually ~~at~~ at the turning point in carrying out the convention line. We are at the point of no return for anyone who opposes the convention policy. Comrade Bill is going to have to sign it, to express his public agreement and to make the turn. Rather than get involved in side issues I think we should stand firmly and clearly on this matter. Here is the convention decision--the statement is in line with the convention decision is it not--then let us proceed--sign it along with us. Here we are on political grounds again--the grounds that we want to be on--the most clear

Organizationally we have another issue which puts us in a strong defensive position. I am referring to the minutes of March 29 and the statement that Bill submitted in the name of Branch 1. The statement reads that Branch one is breaking from the framework established by the January resolution. But the January resolution was passed by the city executive struck off by the national convention with executive authority. By what authority do they now state they break from it--ultimately. I have written to branch one for a copy of the balance sheet of the 6 months city executive experience and their recommendations. But here we have an ultimatum--spelled out further down "that all liason of a permanent character be dropped and leave us free to consider Branch 2 like we would any other left wing current in the BC movement." Of course the PC is not at all prepared to give any recognition to any idea that a part of our movement--that part in BC whose position was sustained at the national convention will be dealt with by another part whose position was rejected"like any other left wing BC current."

the Briar and Douglas

Flowing from the above I think that it would be best that ~~the~~ Branch two sit on this matter of Munzer. In the meantime we might further discuss the matter of the recommendation that the PC expell Munzer. Personally from my reading over the transcript I do not see how it constitutes grounds for expulsion. Scandalous and all that but it was a conversation between two members--even though one-sided--it was not outside the party. I myself doubt that this type of crap constitutes grounds for expulsion

If the Executive Report Branch 2 review of 6months has not gone to the city executive yet--~~and~~ I think that it should be held up also. Is the executive functioning Has Branch one actually withdrawn from the city executive--- it would seem from here that the grounds have been laid--that in essence it has but how is it as to facts. Have they formally stated that they no longer intend to participate on the city executive. From the minutes this is by no means clear. I see that the meeting continued on after the tabling motion and the rout of order motions on Branch One propositions. The Reg, Fred, Ruth statement says that they have withdrawn from the city executive. We should get this down formally, in black and white--a statement from them, or refusal to attend further meetings etc. Could this be done right away.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

LABOR COUNCILS & PICKETS PROTEST INVASION OF CUBA

Almost alone among world government figures, Canada's Prime Minister Diefenbaker backed U.S. President Kennedy up to the hilt in his bloody assault against Cuba.

While Diefenbaker repeated the stock-in-trade lies about Cuba, and completely underwrote the Kennedy doctrine, which declares the right of the rulers of the U.S. to intervene at will in the affairs of any nation in this hemisphere, important sections of the Canadian people took a completely contrary stand.

Pledging full support to the Cuban people "in their fight for freedom and a better life" the delegates to the Vancouver Labor Council, with only one unidentifiable dissenter, passed a motion that condemned the CIA-engineered and Kennedy-sponsored invasion as "the black hand of reaction determined to return Cuba to the fascist regime of dictator Batista . . ."

One of three delegates who took the mike in support of the resolution sponsored by the Marine Workers and Boilermakers Union, and approved by the executive, was Orville Braaten, business agent of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers and local chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Braaten, accusing the U.S. State Department with conspiracy against the working people of Cuba, declared that "as long as we in Canada allow ourselves to follow the foreign policy of the U.S. we are going to continue to

back gangsters like Franco, Salazar and so on."

Longshoremen's delegate and chairman of the Socialist Information Center, Fred McNeil, after exposing the duplicity of Congress, the CIA, the Pentagon and Kennedy, also placed blame on "the shoulders of (Canadian and U.S.) trade union leaders who fail to defend the (Cuban) union movement in its support for Castro."

The Regina Labor Council, at its April 24 meeting, adopted a resolution protesting U.S. participation in the invasion of Cuba to be forwarded to the CLC for its attention and with the request that it be sent on to U.S. President Kennedy.

A motion proposed by Steelworker delegate Art Lavery urged the Hamilton Labor Council to go on record condemning the invasion and calling upon the CLC to contact the federal government to use its good office to discourage counter-revolutionary actions against the Castro regime.

Referring to the vast gains made by the Cuban people, Lavery scored the invasion as thoroughly counter-revolutionary—as an attempt to overthrow a truly peoples government. He was vigorously supported by Rubberworkers' delegate Sandy Murdoch in a debate with Steel area representative Stewart Cooke and Hospital business agent McEntee. Murdoch challenged that to justify the action by the imperialist states from the point of view of

a trade unionist or any member of the working class would be the height of hypocrisy. The motion was narrowly defeated—a large number of delegates abstaining from voting.

As the invasion was getting underway on April 15, some 200 marched from the civic square in Toronto to the U.S. consulate. Headed by Vernel Olson, chairman of the FPFCC, they chanted, "Cuba Si—Yankee No," "Hands Off Cuba" and carried placards calling for "Trade Not Tanks" and pointing out "There's No Unemployment in Cuba." Following a short address by Olson, in which he called for the mobilization of the Canadian people in support of the Cuban people, a well-known Toronto unionist, Douglas Carr, addressed the assembled pickets. Describing the great achievements of the Cuban revolution which he had witnessed just a few days before during his visit there, Carr assured the audience that the Cuban people really would defend them to victory or to death. The following Saturday, as the invasion appeared to have been definitely repulsed, the Toronto FPFCC organized another, though somewhat smaller, effective picket before the U.S. Consulate.

Carrying placards denouncing U.S. aggression, some 300 pickets paraded outside the Vancouver U.S. Consulate on April 18. Over 100 pickets demonstrated before the U.S. Montreal Consulate on April 22 demanding "Cuba au Cubains," "Hands Off Cuba."

On the mornings of April 19, 20 and 21, all the major factories in the Toronto area were blanketed with a leaflet published by the Socialist Educational League entitled HANDS OFF CUBA.

PRESS FUND DRIVE SUCCESS

We made it! In fact we went over the top! Socialist Educational League members, their friends and sympathizers, despite unemployment and extensive layoffs, gave \$2,132.05 during the past six weeks so that the *Workers Vanguard* will roll off the press for another twelve months. That is \$132.05 over our objective of \$2,000.

But our supporters had to dig deep. One old age pensioner turned in \$50.00. An unemployed worker handed over his weeks' unemployment insurance pay. Several *Vanguard* sympathizers gave us their week's pay check

Over eighty people gathered in the SEL's Toronto headquarters on April 29 to celebrate May Day and wind up the financial drive for the paper. During the course of the evening, although many people had already contributed to the drive, \$88.00 more was collected.

Your contributions were accepted with thanks. The publication of the *Vanguard* is assured for a further twelve months. Why not circulate it, sell subscriptions to it? And just as important, why not write and tell us what is happening in your local union, or your labor party club?

June 6, 1961

Home
Rockport Ill
Dear Bob and Carson:

Everyone has been looking over the clippings that you forwarded Gerry. The little project really steamrollered didn't it. Everyone here is impressed by how you handled yourselves. My impression from the clippings and interviews is that you have really awakened a slumbering town. I sense not so much opposition but curiosity, startled interest. Of course in any such situation, particularly due to the bog hate campaign building up to the invasion of Cuba and now the humiliation of the repulse, the rats come out of their holes--the army sergeants, sadistic cops. But my impression is that your distribution and subsequent events have started a lot of people thinking. and that is always a good thing for others start to move out a bit and the work starts to get carried forward.

I gather that you have rallied a bit of response from your comments about the Unitarians in the letter that arrived this morning. But there is something else in your letter that coaxes me to write you immediately. There is always danger in a situation such as you and Carson have become involved in in carrying a good thing too far. Sometimes such incidents can turn into their opposites. Instead of awakening others to the truth and possible action they can turn in such a way as to intimidate them.

Of course there are two forces involved in the dispute--and every thing favors the side of capital. It would seem to me that you have scored some good points but it also seems to me that you are now pushing too far and you have no strength behind you to do so. When it comes to a matter of getting a hearing there is considerable public pressure in favor of you and against the conservatives and reactionaries. But there comes a point when if you continue to push, and you have not brought any forces along with you that conservatives sense the decreasing public pressure and give the reactionaries more rein. In this sense it seems to me that you are provoking the conservatives in Rockport.

You know we don't need any more martyrs--particularly martyrs that are not identifiable with some great possibility of success. As soon as my eyes fell on the line about the goaler "cautioning" your fellow prisoners my heart skipped a beat. It is apparent that "they" are out to do a job on you. Oh yes you have justice on your side all down the line but it appears to me that we just can win the type of fight that it seems to be developing into and which to some extent you are letting it go. We can only lose and in a way that could be very costly, in your both getting seriously injured.

I do not know all the ins and outs of the situation but it seems to me that Carson winning her case is quite a victory. I would ~~have~~ without much hesitation says yes to your making an appeal of your fine. It is not only outrageous but obviously so to anyone almost. But it was a mistake to have ordered the tear gas pencils--particularly if you had any idea of the state statute. I am not sure at all that the idea of an assault charge against Smith is a good one and now that Carson has won her case whether you should press it. You know these guys work on the angles--they let Carson off--had no case anyway--we fine Bob Carson--no real case but we have justified our actions--he will

appeal anyway. I wouldn't be suprised if there were a tacit agreement an informal understanding that they would let you win the appeal if you drop the assualt charge against Smith. Cynical isn't it. ~~But~~ Usually the crown attorney drops the hint to your lawyer if you have one. But these things are worth considering. Probably you have given no hint of being prepared to "see reason" as they would term it---or as I would term it grasp the realiotnship of forces and what can be gained out of a situation and when it is adviseable to pull back and hold onto what you have gained .

Of course it is revolutionary--very rererevolutionary to go right through to the end but I heartily approve of your hedging a little to that one fellow who said he would kill you if he thought you were pro Castro.

My own feeling is that you should modify your strategy--stand by your guns and try to wind affairs up there in the beautiful little town of Rockford. Then come on up and see Jerry ,Ruth and all the ki kiddies and all your larger family here.

fraternally

Ross

June 6, 1961

Dear Reg;

Taking up your note immediately--terribel stall in the paper--our printer is just unable to set it and it is being set in a small neighbouring town-- the proofs came in the other day but along with four articles that somehow just hadn't been srt---so had to mail them back so we are suspended. This will be the last issue from Merchants--but definitely--no matter anything sles. Was on the verge about ten times over the past year, amde the decision then f und the price would be another fifty an issue--a third more--so stalled. But have to move price no object.

The case of Ken O. ~~Chard~~. When he left I would say that he left without any real prejudice to his return. He had no real disagreement with us although in many ways he is not one of us. He is a petty bourgeois type of worker. Bolshevism is alien to him, although he is a revolutionary type. The very idea of adopting a doctrine, a discipline in thought is alien to him. This tendency in him was heightened by Raison and by Bruce and Bunny who were moving rapidly out of the party. He was caught up in this and if I recall correctly at first did not want to leave the party but wanted a leave of absence. Probably if we had wanted to at the time we could have satisfied him by granting his request for a leave of absence. But this request took place when the Battens ~~xxxx~~ were trying to undermine the authority of the party and we refused him the leave and in a sense pushed him to decided that he wanted out, period. I think when you consider his application you should consider to some degree the health of the branch. He is the kind of fellow who falls into minorities, into factions. He is a one man minority. He is an individualist. But he is also a guy who likes a scrap, always ready for picket lines. Possibly he has matured somewhat over the past year. I say all this not to prejudice his admission. I would think that the comrades there have had some experience with him. I would think that one thing should be made clear to him--that all comrades must adhere to the decisions of the branch and implement them.

Had three notices now about more papers. Larry, Nick and now you. They should be there by now. Have changed the bundle to come to your place as Ruth Rob asked. Havent got any of the last issue to spare now as we have started our subscription drive.

You couldn't make a more embarrassing request than ~~xxxxxx~~ ask us to send a copy of the fund drive report. The comrade who typed it up typed one short. So rather than have it done all over again, after the last copy had been read out here to the To onto branch I took it and sent it on to Magna Bay. Of course Toronto here the complete break down, total and sources of its own drive properly typed up and inserted in the correct place in the minute book but it has no copy of the final letter. I will have to get Alan to pull the figures together again and see if he can embellish them with a letter. But best ~~back~~ would be to hope that Nick after another diligent search would find his copy.

warmest regards

FOUND LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

SIC and SEL Unite to Win NP for Socialism

The merging of the forces of the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver and the Socialist Educational League of Toronto into a new national organization, The League for Socialist Action, marks a mighty stride forward in the struggle to win the New Party to a socialist policy and thus establish a socialist society here in Canada.

The road to jobs for all, to prosperity, to peace, is the road to socialism. There is no other. The capitalist system is irreparable, and any program that is based on any illusions on this score or has this in mind is bankrupt and will only lead to the demoralization, disillusionment and open betrayal of those who count on it. Canada, the world, needs a new system geared to the atomic age, to the age of space exploration. The New Party has no perspective without a socialist program. The winning of the new party to such a program is the crying need of the moment. Such is the aim, the purpose, the intention of the League for Socialist Action.

The society of human brotherhood, freedom, peace, that is socialism, is the noblest aim that man has ever aspired to. It has reason and truth on its side. It will eliminate all the pettiness, narrowness, conflict that now saps man's potentialities. All will gain. But the way ahead will not be easy. A thwart it stands vested interest, fear, conservatism. The capitalist opponents of the new party, when not attempting to frontally destroy the new party, are making a big effort to corrupt it and divert it from its purpose. In the new party itself, on the right, is a formidable combination, the self-proclaimed

See page 3—LONG LIVE L.S.A.!

Support Growing for Showdown With Union-hating Hotel Bosses

By A. Adair

To the cry of Yes, Yes, Yes, that burst from the ranks of some 600 strikers, A. R. Johnson, Canadian vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union said "it's time to take off the gloves" in the one month-old fight with the Toronto Royal York Hotel. Referring to the fact that almost every major union in the Toronto area has promised support, that many unions from a wide cross-section of locals have appeared on the picket lines and have expressed the desire to demonstrate in mass their solidarity with the 1,200 strikers, Johnson remarked: "We've been credited with conducting one of the most dignified strikes Toronto has seen . . . but I am beginning to wonder if it hasn't been too dignified." "Perhaps," he said, as he ratified participation on the picket line of some 70 members of the Unemployed Workers Union, "the time has come when we will be less dignified."

The callousness of the bosses of the luxury Royal York Hotel, owned by the multi-million dollar CPR, which is causing Johnson to believe that it is time to take the gloves off, is revealed in their refusal to re-open negotiations and their obvious intent to smash the union.

The company's last offer was a miserly 2½ cents over a three year period, in return for which it demanded that the work-week be increased from 40 hours to 48 for such employees as bellmen and waiters and that the requirement that they give a seven day layoff notification be replaced with one requiring only a 48 hour notification for permanent employees "wherever possible."

Even while negotiations were going on, the company had helped wanted-ads in the daily papers to re-staff the hotel. Hotel workers have been flown in from as far away as British Columbia and Nova Scotia to work as long as 40 hours per week to keep the hotel operating. The company claims to have almost a complete staff. The union concedes that some 94 members have broken through the picket line to work. The main weapon of the union leadership aside from the picket line, which has been extended up to the Malton airport to warn travellers of the strike, is the boycott. Several unions have cancelled

planned conferences and conventions that were slated to be held in the hotel. They include the United Electrical Workers, Mine Mill, the Oil Workers, Steel, and others. Visiting members of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra went elsewhere as did all but 24 of the 325 member Metropolitan Opera troupe. While several Tory MLA's and members of the provincial cabinet have crossed the picket lines, Premier Frost has taken up residence elsewhere and the Ontario Magistrates Association switched their sessions. But surprising as it may seem, not all unions are respecting the picket line. Members of the International Union of Operating Engineers and the Toronto Musicians Union are crossing every day. CPR employees in the Brotherhood of Railway Steamship Clerks and Freight Handlers are picking up and delivering freight and luggage continually.

Joe Dwan of the Plumbers Union urged the delegates at a recent Toronto Labor Council meeting to not only expose Toronto's Nathan Phillips, Tory "Mayor of All the People," who has broken the line many times, but also fellow unionists who are strikebreaking. But the best the executive could do was to urge

See page 4—SHUT DOWN

The Workers Vanguard

June, 1961

Vol. 6, No. 4 (64)

Price 25c

Toronto—Price 5 cents

STRIKE TORONTO HOUSING TO GAIN DECENT CONDITIONS

By P. Kent

"You've been hollering for action, now you'll get it," declared Charles Irvine, international president of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons union, to a stormy meeting of 3,500 Toronto building trades workers. "Nobody goes back to work until everything is unionized from the ground to the roof," he shouted.

Within the week about 10,000 construction workers, largely Italian immigrants, through an inspiring display of militancy, imposed a complete shutdown on house and apartment construction, some 150 million dollars worth, in the Metropolitan area.

Supported by 19 unions in the Toronto Building Trades Council, which are tied up in conciliation with the Builders Exchange, the struggle could easily boil over to close down all construction, including commercial building.

Last year, sparked by the Hogg's Hollow Tunnel fire and cave-in which resulted in the death of five, through criminal negligence of the bosses, some five categories of building trade workers outside of the traditional unions, organized, struck, and won some 600 contracts. But as the contractors themselves admit they have not adhered to the contracts.

After referring to the problem of weather, the president of the Toronto Metropolitan Home Builders Association frankly stated that "to operate efficiently the sub contractor must be free to hire and direct his men . . . without interference by unions". The president of the Carpenters Contractors Association, while using the phoney argument that the walkout is illegal, admitted that contractors had refused to honour the wage provisions. "The competition was so fierce from non union contractors that we just couldn't exist," he lied. But according to Gerry Gallacher of the Hod Carriers, the construction bosses have amassed a half million dollar fund to fight the most exploited workers in the Toronto area.

Irvine testifies that members

of one of the Brandon Hall locals had been short changed out of \$50,000 in wages and only \$39,000 had been recovered through court action. Violations of contracts had been so numerous, he says, that the unions would be in

See page 4—FOR SHOWDOWN

Angola Butchers Use NATO Arms

The barbaric suppression of the Angola liberation movement by the Portuguese army threatens to serve as the spark to longstanding discontent in Portugal itself. But even the most moderate protests, stronger and more open than before, are meeting head on with full repression from the regime of the infamous dictator Salazar.

Four signers of the new "Program for the Democratization of the Republic," all of them lawyers, have been arrested and jailed. Drawn up by the right wing Republican Directorate, but supported by the socialist Serra Nova group, the program calls for the right to independence for the colonies, the right of workers in Portugal to strike, legalization of opposition parties, and of press censorship, abolition of the fascist-type Portuguese Legion, and other radical reform measures. The Program's supporters were to be the main contestants against Salazar in the coming elections in November.

Another group fighting Salazar's policies, the Liberation for Angola group, has been outlawed and 19 of its leaders jailed, receiving terms of from 3½ to 10 years in jail.

Meanwhile, the government, a NATO member, is stepping up its campaign to annihilate the rebel liberation movement in Angola.

An estimated 15,000 soldiers are now engaged in the campaign, using planes, firebombs, and other modern weapons against the almost unarmed natives. Reminiscent of the horrors of the 'dirty war' in Algeria, torture, murder, concentration camps, arbitrary arrest, are among the methods being used to quell the uprising.

An estimated 30,000 to 50,000 persons have been killed so far. 60,000 refugees have fled to safety in the Congo rather than risk death at the hands of the army. One typical report, verified by western observers in Luanda, stated, "The airplanes come over nearly every day now. They bomb the forest with fire bombs, and when we run into the open they shoot us with their guns. There are no more villages, they have all been burned."

And yet, incredible though it may seem, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal, as reported in the World Marxist Review, appeals for " . . . a peaceful solution of the country's problems, for Salazar's removal from office without civil war."

BC Locals Proceed with Plan for Fact-finding Trip to Cuba

VANCOUVER — Attempts by the top leadership of the Canadian Congress of Labor to cordon Cuba off to Canadian unionists and thus sustain their blind charges that Cuba suffers under a rule of terror and suppression of elementary democratic rights are meeting considerable resistance here.

An attack by Joe Morris, West Coast Woodworker leader and vice-president of the CLC, against the idea of a delegation, and a campaign that the brass have taken into the Vancouver Labor Council, has resulted in several important unions announcing that they will be sending delegations despite the retreat of the BC Federation leadership. Delegate Jerry LeBourdais announced that the Oilworkers were going ahead. Following up an appeal by Pulp and Sulphite representative Braaten it is time that Canadian workers declared their solidarity with the workers of Cuba, LeBourdais charged that the CLC policy "is wrapped

up with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which is wrapped up with the US Central Intelligence Agency."

Syd Thompson, president of the big IWA Local 1-217, dissociating himself from the secretary of the local, said its officers are also recommending the sending of a delegate.

A committee of unionists, set up because the CLC turned thumbs down on the 1960 BC Federation resolution to organize a delegation to Cuba, has announced that it is in contact with the Cuban Federation of Labor and hopes that the delegation will leave for Cuba by the end of the summer — perhaps to coincide with the July 26 celebrations.

Sam Jenkins of the Boilermakers is chairman. Tom Clarke of the IWA is vice chairman and LeBourdais is secretary. The Boilermakers union has already voted to send its top shop steward at Western Bridge on the fact-finding trip.

FOUND LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION

SIC and SEL Unite to Win NP to Socialism*

Workers' Vanguard, #64, June 1961

(*New Party, to become the NDP --ed.)

The merging of the forces of the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver and the Socialist Educational League of Toronto into a new national organization, The League for Socialist Action, marks a mighty stride forward in the struggle to win the New Party to a socialist policy and thus establish a socialist society here in Canada.

The road to jobs for all, to prosperity, to peace, is the road to socialism. There is no other. The capitalist system is irreparable, and any program that is based on any illusions on this score or has this in mind is bankrupt and will only lead to the demoralization, disillusionment and open betrayal of those who count on it. Canada, the world, needs a new system geared to the atomic age, to the age of space exploration. The New Party has no perspective without a socialist program. The winning of the new party to such a program is the crying need of the moment. Such is the aim, the purpose, the intention of the League for Socialist Action.

The society of human brotherhood, freedom, peace, that is socialism, is the noblest aim that man has ever aspired to. It has reason and truth on its side. It will eliminate all the pettiness, narrowness, conflict that now saps man's potentialities. All will gain. But the way ahead will not be easy. Athwart it stands vested interest, fear, conservatism. The capitalist opponents of the new party, when not attempting to frontally destroy the new party, are making a big effort to corrupt it and divert it from its purpose. In the new party itself, on the right, is a formidable combination, the self-proclaimed

=====box=====

Photo caption -- Prominent figures in drawing together the forces for the organization of the League for Socialist Action are (upper left) Ruth Bullock, well known activist in CCF and union circles in the Vancouver area, (upper right) Ross Dowson, of Toronto, editor of *Workers Vanguard*, and (lower left) Malcolm Bruce, nationally known revolutionary socialist, journalist, a familiar figure on the CCF and labor platform in Vancouver.

=====end box =====

leadership of old time CCFers (*CCF: Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, founded in 1933 as a primarily Western farmer-labor party, becoming the de facto labor-based successor to the NDP by 1948 --ed.*) who have abandoned any socialist ideas that they ever had, and the arrogant trade union brass hats who never did have any concept of seriously fighting for workers demands, let alone a socialist outlook. On the left are the relatively small forces of the newly formed League for Socialist Action, plus many scattered individual socialists and trade union militants.

One might say this is a case of a David against a Goliath. The Goliath-like combination of CCF trade union right wingers appears to have everything in its favour. The power they possess is obvious. It would be foolish to underestimate their influence and their power, or to think that they will not use them against their socialist opponents in the New Party.

However this Goliath-like monster is being undermined by the changing economic and political situation throughout the world, and in Canada in particular. Growing unemployment, the increasing threat of nuclear war and the fierce "cut the costs" attacks of the bosses on the unions, are driving home to an increasing number the utter incapacity and, total bankruptcy of the old style leadership that wrecked the CCF and has undermined much of the fighting capacity of organized labor.

This situation means that increasingly large numbers of new party supporters, unionists etc. will be more receptive to and will be looking for, a real alternative policy to that being offered by the self-proclaimed leadership of the New Party.

This does not mean that all that socialists have to do is sit back and wait for these leftward moving people to come to them. It means that those socialists who seriously organize and fight for the correct policies are in a position to make great gains towards the objective of making the New Party really a "new party".

The program drawn up and adopted by the SEL and the SIC, and published in this issue of the *Vanguard*, develops the ideas around which the effort to give the new party a class struggle program and a socialist perspective can take on flesh and blood. The LSA provides the form around which these forces can be gathered, steered, mobilized.

The editors of the *Vanguard* hail the formation of the League for Socialist Action. We hope that our readers will seriously study its program and join forces with it in perfecting it and promoting it.

The Need for the LSA and What it Wants *(League for Socialist Action)*

For a Peace Policy; For Public Ownership

The League for Socialist Action is a fusion of the Socialist Educational League, centered in Toronto, and the Socialist Information Center of Vancouver, and their supporters scattered across Canada.

The League for Socialist Action is committed to unconditional support of the New Party in its objective to place workers' and farmers' governments in Ottawa and the provinces.

Its purpose is (1) to bring together, to organize into an effective force, all supporters of the new party who seek to win it to a class struggle program and a socialist objective; (2) to build the

party, to participate in its day to day activities and to advance ideas that will give conscious direction to the working people of Canada in their struggles to defend and extend their interests.

The first requirement for the workers in all countries of the world is to break cleanly from the capitalist class and their political parties, and any and all concepts of coalitions with their parties. The workers and farmers must build a party of their own based on their primary class organizations, the trade unions, with the aim of taking the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and into their own hands.

The new party being organized by the CCF and the CLC (*Canadian Labour Congress, the principal cross-country labor federation --ed.*) meets this requirement. It opens up the possibility of galvanizing the entire working people of Canada, in alliance with the struggles of the workers in other parts of the globe, to eliminate once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism and to eliminate its wars which now threaten mankind with atomic destruction, and to usher in a new world of peace and plenty.

Those associated together in the League for Socialist Action seek to join forces with all those who now understand this challenge in order to win the majority of the working class to this realization. Our support for the new party is unconditional. Our participation is not contingent upon certain specific programmatic planks being adopted by the New Party, and we lay down no terms as to who must be in the leadership of the new party. We recognize the authority of the majority in democratic debate to decide the policy of the party and to elect the leadership it sees fit to pledge to implement that policy.

At the same time we affirm the right of the minority to freely advance its ideas in the organizations that are part of and allied to the new party, and to seek to win the majority to the support of its views and establish a leadership in the party consonant with its views.

While we declare our unconditional support for the new party we declare our conviction, based on experiences both in Canada and in other parts of the world, and on our analysis of objective reality, that the program being advanced by the leadership of the CLC and the CCF is inadequate. Were it to become and to remain the program of the party it would render it incapable of meeting the needs of those whose support it seeks.

Their program is reformist when the task is revolutionary — that is, socialist. While capitalism is moving out to slash the many gains already won, imposing new burdensome taxes, straight-jacketing organized labor with union-busting laws, cutting down on social legislation, and throwing hundreds of thousands into unemployment; they talk in terms of the affluent society and the amelioration of class conflicts. They project a perspective of merely removing what they present as minor defects in the existing capitalist order of things, of patching capitalism up and making it more tolerable, instead of a perspective of fundamental change. While the movement is clearly working class, the present leadership preaches conciliation, peaceful co-existence with capitalism, not class struggle against it.

This is the most revolutionary period in human history. One third of the world's population lives under a planned economy — which is the foundation for their colossal progress and

achievements of the past decade. With increasing strength the peoples of East Germany, Poland, Hungary and in the Soviet Union itself, are striving against the bureaucratic regime to establish working class democracy. Whole continents are being torn by revolutionary struggle from the domination and exploitation of the imperialists. Cuba, just 90 miles off the American coast, with its example and inspiration, is stirring all Latin America.

Within a generation we have suffered two world wars of unprecedented slaughter and destruction and have been afflicted with the waste and demoralization of cataclysmic economic crises. With the loss of their imperialist holdings and the entry of new forces onto the world market the capitalists attempt to keep their industrial plants operating and profits pouring in by initiating a vast program of military expenditures. To no avail — a major crisis is shaping up in the capitalist world. In desperation they are attempting to shore up the system by turning against the workers at home. Capitalism promises the people of Canada not amelioration of conditions but austerity, oppression, dictatorship and/or atomic destruction of mankind. Only through an irreconcilable struggle against capitalism, towards its elimination and the establishment of socialism, will the Canadian people and the people of the world find the full freedom, equality and democracy for which they aspire.

The threat to the peace of the world, the main force behind the drive towards atomic destruction is not the Soviet Union — nor is it China. It is American imperialism and the old but now much enfeebled imperialists, and their hangers-on such as Canada, which seek to roll back the struggles of the colonial peoples and re-establish their domination of those areas from which they have been driven.

It was the U.S. that flew the U2 (*high-altitude spy --ed.*) planes, that conducts provocative nuclear armed air flights over Canadian territory right up to the borders of the Soviet Union, that thousands of miles from American shores has built more than 300 military bases that are encircling and directed at the Soviet areas. It was the U.S. which stalled on the cessation of atomic tests and procrastinates in the disarmament sessions, while, along with its satellites, increasing military expenditures and perfecting ever-more fiendish instruments of death and destruction.

To be a factor for peace Canada must be broken from the commitments made by the Liberals and the Tories to the imperialist war drive and must be identified with the freedom struggles everywhere. The new party forces must mobilize the Canadian people in the struggle against war, must raise the demand: that the question of nuclear arms in Canada be taken out of the hands of the government and decided by the people in a national referendum.

The New Party should commit itself to struggle now, and when elected break Canada from participation in. the NATO military alliance, withdraw Canada from NORAD (*US-dominated air defense alliance --ed.*), remove all Canadian forces from the soil of any other country and demand the withdrawal of other country's armed forces from Canadian soil. For the reallocation of all military appropriations to the financing of vast programs of low cost, low rental subsidized housing, schools, hospitals and roads. No shipment of Canadian uranium to any country manufacturing and testing H Bombs — for the stockpiling of uranium and a crash program to develop its use for the production of energy for peaceful purposes.

No support of the U.N. which has proved to be an instrument of imperialist strategy, but rather towards an alliance, a free association of the people of the world by the identification of Canada with the world-wide anti-imperialist and socialist strivings through a program of trade and aid. For recognition of China, for extended credits to Cuba and all countries seeking trade and aid. Only when the working people of Canada and the major countries in the world have the power in their own hands can we realize the cherished commonwealth of labor.

The new party must mobilize the people of Canada behind a program which will block and reverse all the efforts of the Canadian capitalist class and their political lackeys, the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties, to impose the crisis of their system on the backs of the working people.

Technological progress is now reaping vast profits for the industrial and financial oligarchy and condemning thousands to permanent unemployment. The New Party (*future NDP –ed.*) must solidarize itself with organized labor's fight to win the benefits of technological change for the workers by establishing the shorter work-week with the same take-home-pay in all union contracts, and by fighting to enact a shorter legal work-week. The establishment of a sliding scale of hours would insure that all have the right to work.

Alleviate the hardship of unemployment with: unemployment insurance for the duration of unemployment at union rates of pay, for union organization of the unemployed linking up the unemployed with the fighting capacity of organized labor.

Mobilize popular opposition to roll back the anti-labor offensive, wipe all union-busting legislation off the books, encourage, promote, strengthen all organizations of the working people, the co-ops, the credit unions, trade unions — for a Bill of Rights.

Public ownership, nationalization of the basic industries and the financial institutions, the establishment of industrial democracy, participation of the people in the service of the people, is not some abstract principle or the expression of an ultimate objective. The crucial dependence of Canadian economy on the world market and its uneven development has transformed public ownership and production for use from a programmatic statement on the nature of the socialist society that lies ahead and a desirable aim, into an immediate necessity.

To the Nova Scotia CCF-NP (a) demand that the coal industry there be nationalized should be added; (*for Ontario*) the nationalization of the government-financed Malton AVRO plant, its re-tooling and the production of goods needed by the people for sale at cost. The nationalization of the government-financed uranium industry and a crash program to develop uranium for peaceful energy purposes. The nationalization of the CPR and its unification with the CNR, their re-financing and their co-ordination to provide a nation-wide network functioning in the interests of those working it and providing transportation at cost.

Open the books of big business so that the truth about prices, wages, cost of production, distribution and profits, executive salaries, kickbacks and payola, so that the waste and inefficiency, so that the source of the crisis of the economy is laid bare. Take over the idle

factories, the electrical goods plants, the textile mills, that are turning once prosperous communities into ghost towns, produce for use under the control of the workers through a national plan.

The League for Socialist Action identifies itself fully with all such demands as: a non-contributory national health plan, free university tuition, the 18-year-old vote, parity prices for farmers, cheap loans and low cost credit to owner-operated businesses and working farmers. The League for Socialist Action identifies itself with all the social conquests of the working people and with all proposals that would deepen and extend them. It solidarizes itself with all actions which heighten the consciousness of the Canadian working class of the real situation confronting them; it supports any action which further cements their unity against capitalism and which would strengthen their capacity to struggle and project them towards the achievement of a workers' and farmers' government.

The new party opens up tremendous possibilities before the Canadian people. But to realize these possibilities it must present itself as a real alternative to the capitalist parties. It must be rooted in the working class — in the primary organization of the working class, the trade unions. The working class is the only class in modern capitalist society in profound and persistent conflict with the tiny handful of financial and industrial tycoons who control the economy and state apparatus. The unions are the only mass organized social movement in conflict on productive processes and the planning of the economy for a day-to-day basis with capitalism at the key point of their power — their control of the productive machinery of the nation.

The New Party must be an integral part of the lives of the workers, inextricably tied to their day-to-day struggles and not a mere election machine, persistently seeking funds but limiting the political activity of the workers to electioneering, going to the ballot box periodically then handing the job over to specialists, to MPs (*federal Members of Parliament*) and MLAs (*provincial Members of Legislative Assemblies*). Labor political action is not a substitute for on-the-job action but a broad generalization and heightening of the day-to-day struggle, on the job, on the picket line, organizing, propagandizing, agitating, on all levels of the population and in all fields, cultural, social and on the municipal, provincial and federal areas of government, co-ordinating, giving leadership and direction to the Canadian working people.

The New Party must develop its leaders and spokesmen from its own ranks. While welcoming intellectuals and professional people it will put into positions of trust and responsibility only those who identify themselves completely with the workers' cause. Such persons, by their loyalty, their commitment to the aims of the party ranks, by their militancy and example, will help to overcome the deep underlying cynicism that has disaffected large layers of the population from political life and will inspire them to join in the struggle.

The movement must be democratic — open to all who commit themselves to its support. It must have in internal life which not only permits, but consciously encourages the full play and exchange of ideas. Only then is there any assurance that the party will adopt the correct policies — only then can it develop and choose the type of leadership that the struggle for a socialist Canada in a socialist world requires.

The New Party is here. The socialists greet this development with deep satisfaction and enthusiasm. We are confident that the experiences ahead will prove the validity of our ideas which have been forged in the struggles of the past and will be re-tempered in the struggles ahead.

The attempts of the CCF-CLC leadership, expressed in the loose formulations adopted at the Winnipeg CLC convention, to launch some kind of liberal-labor coalition, were dashed to pieces by the onrush of events, by the developing economic crisis and the Tory-Liberal-Social Credit anti-labor drives. Regardless of any desires to the contrary the new party enters the arena as a class party, a labor party.

Despite the campaign of lies and distortions about the socialist viewpoint we are confident that developing realities, together with the conscious participation of all who consider themselves socialists, around such a program as we have outlined, will make the new party a powerful leap forward on the march to a socialist Canada.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Association
569 Yonge Street, Toronto 5, Ont. - WA. 3-5174

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON

Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

The policy of The Workers Vanguard is reflected in its editorials. Signed articles and features express the ideas of our contributors and do not necessarily represent the policies or opinion of The Workers' Vanguard.

Set up and printed by Merchants Press, 323 King St. W., Toronto
Authorized as Second Class matter, Post Office Department, Ottawa

#64—Jun 1961

Trade Union Notes



TEAMSTERS CLASH

The May 28 meeting of Toronto Local 938 of the Teamsters saw president McDougall press through approval of his firing of business agent Bill Davidson, his opponent in last January election. But not without a powerful opposition organized principally around the hard hitting voice of the militants—F.W.D.—edited by Joe Hendsbee.

McDougall, who has been gunning for the militants ever since he took office, provoked a situation that led to a wildcat in one of the barns serviced by Davidson; then broke through the picket line at the head of some misguided members of the local. In short order, and in flagrant violation of the constitution, he suspended 6 members, the majority supporters of FWD, who expressed solidarity with the picket line, and declared them ineligible as candidates for the election of delegates to the international convention. Hoffa intervened, forcing their reinstatement.

McDougall's principal lever to force acceptance of his actions against Davidson was the fear that he worked up that the local's funds would be tied up in legal suits that the companies would take out against the union for

the illegal strike. Using the Davidson case as a wedge, he pulled out of his pocket and read to the meeting a letter signed by one of the members charging Hendsbee with offering to pay him \$20 to start a fracas in a future meeting in order to lure McDougall into the melee and slug him with a sand-filled silk stocking. The letter suggested that there was more where that came from—from the Hoffa machine. Cutting across the tumult that broke out over this frame-up letter a notorious red baiter said he would lay charges against Hendsbee for violating the constitution by calling a meeting of teamsters outside the regularly constituted meetings of the union.

The attack against Hendsbee rounded out McDougall's campaign, for FWD has been pressing for the adoption as the local's contract demands a 40 hour week, a big wage increase to bridge the gap between US and Canadian wages, time and a half for Saturday and double time for Sunday work. McDougall is attempting to soften the local up for negotiations with the bosses this September. But the forces appear to be hardening behind FWD which promises to reawaken interest of many teamsters in union affairs.

Toronto —

you are welcome to attend

The Vanguard Forum

every Friday Night
8 p.m.

81 Queen Street West

In and Around The New Party

FOR UNION RIGHTS

Delegates attending the last meeting of the Toronto and District Labor Council (CLC) were handed a mimeographed copy of an open letter addressed to the Metro Toronto New Party Committee and the council's Political Action Committee, challenging whether unionists are going to be asked to contribute funds to the New Party but keep their mouths shut.

The distributor and author was Hugh Dowson, Local 112 UAW delegate to the council, secretary of the local's PAC.

The leaflet relates a significant incident that took place at the second NP nomination meeting in the Toronto area—for the Eglinton riding provincial by-election. Dowson, a resident of the riding, was refused a vote by the credentials committee and when he sought an explanation from chairman Kenneth Bryden, an MLA and former CCF provincial secretary, referred to the Metro NP committee. Even when a credentialled member of the audience, also a delegate to the labor council, challenged the the chair, no explanation was forthcoming.

Dowson points out that according to the new party provisional constitution any member of a CLC union has the right to vote at a new party nomination in the riding where he resides.

Warning that such actions only

play into the hands of the enemies of the new party, Dowson states that unionists are not going to APPEAL for their rights in the new party but are going to DEMAND them, and declares that the committee must make it clear to all unionists and locals that the new party is a party which guarantees the rights of all of their members, without discrimination of any kind.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

While the Saskatchewan CCF government's brief to the Royal Commission on Transportation failed to recommend the amalgamation of the CPR with the CN under public ownership, a CCF news service dispatch quotes a leading spokesman of the Saskatchewan Farm Union as stating that the recommendations of the commission "strengthen our argument for nationalization of the CPR and its integration with the CNR into one national transportation system to be operated as a public utility in the service of the Canadian people".

CCF leader Hazen Argue's comments along the same line come to an abrupt halt with an if—"if necessary this (integration of the CPR and CNR) should be under public ownership" His regret that the Macpherson report says nothing about the fate of the thousands of employees who will be out on the streets have a hollow ring before this big "if necessary".

1902 Hyperion
Los Angeles 27, Calif.
July 13, 1961

Ross Dowson,
Toronto, Ont., Canada

Dear Ross:

I received a copy of your June 30 letter to Gerry and also the copy of his reply dated July 3rd. I assume you have sent copies of these communications to New York for their information. It is important to do this in every case so that there is full information at both ends of our vast continent on these questions which are of concern to us all.

I stated my opinion of the British policy pretty clearly in my four letters to the Center which were published in the SWP Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 22, No. 17. (There seemed to be complete agreement with these remarks on the part of all the leading comrades in the National Committee. I simply spelled out what everybody has been thinking.)

If I were to write any more on the subject it would simply be to elaborate the themes more fully and state the political conclusions even more explicitly. In this new orientation of the British, which is directly opposite to the agreements made at our last gathering, as you will recall--the British are wrong from beginning to end. It begins with a false method and motivation and ends with false conclusions. Gerry is right when he says in his letter to you: "There are most serious political differences which cannot in any way be glossed over by anyone." More correctly, he is partly right. At issue are not merely "political differences" but also differences of method and motivation.

And if he means to imply that somebody over here is interested in "glossing over" these differences, he is greatly mistaken. All our leading comrades feel that our course was firmly set by the Convention decisions, and there will be no deviation from them in the conduct of our work and discussion over the next period.

* * *

This dispute has a particular application for you now in Canada. The lessons learned from experience are probably more important than the immediate result of any particular action or experiment. From this point of view, I would like to suggest that you make a careful study of my four letters printed in the Discussion Bulletin, Vol. 22, No. 17. In essence, they are simply a condensed statement of what we have learned from all the experience of our movement nationally and internationally over the past decades.

This experience teaches that the Canadian Trotskyists must work within the newly emerging Labor Party and establish themselves as a part of it--without giving up their own press and propaganda organization; and also maintain your own organization and press and conduct your public work in such a way as to facilitate the work of those comrades whose main field of operation is inside the Labor Party.

You have two big mistakes to guide you here, so as not to repeat them. The first was the premature launching of an independent revolutionary party in the forties, which effectively cut off our cadres from the possibility of effective work in the CCF. The other was the ill-considered suspension of your press and the deep entry experiment inspired by Pablo in the early fifties. The problem is to find a road in between--to get the maximum benefits of contact with the larger movement on the one side, and an independent press and public expression which enables you to train and educate the cadres, on the other side.

* * *

As far as I can judge, the procedure you have been following in the recent period is just about right. However, if the new Labor Party really begins to take shape on a solid basis, you should be careful not to give the reformist bureaucrats easy pretexts to get rid of your people. From that point of view, it is probably best to emphasize the educational function of your independent group without unduly curtailing its independent activities.

Its task is to train and educate the cadres of the future revolutionary party. But if you keep emphasizing on all occasions the importance and necessity of an "independent revolutionary Trotskyist party," and your intention to create it, as they are currently doing in England, it would probably give the reformist bureaucrats the excuse to expel you on the ground that you are not really interested in the Labor Party, but only conducting a raiding expedition. Your tactical position will be much stronger if you can reply that your purpose is to advocate a revolutionary policy for the Labor Party, and that you are working to build it up, and asking no more rights than other political tendencies in the Labor Party.

Common sense says: "You can't eat your cake and have it too." But in politics, sometimes you can and must.

Fraternally,



James P. Cannon

#65-07 July 1961

WHAT KIND OF POLICY FOR NP? Must be Anti-Capitalist, a Socialist Party

says Johnson of Alberta

"The problems of 1933 that confronted the founding convention of the CCF are still with us," declares **Alberta CCF Leader Floyd Johnson**—(problems that caused the delegates to commit the CCF not to "rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning" and to "stand resolutely against wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism."—Editor)

"Today not only does the worker suffer the same problems—he also has in many cases a burden of debt . . . The same is true of the farmer—if he is still a farmer . . . What about the small businessman? He is smaller today than ever. He has been squeezed to the point of extermination . . . The big shots have become bigger shots and loaded with a heavier charge. The private corporate control over the Canadian economy has steadily increased until it now reaches nearly 75 per cent . . .

"If there are problems that require effective solutions there should be no reluctance to take the necessary steps . . . There are no new solutions . . .

"Getting elected to power, must of course, be a major objective. But to make our basic principle and our major goal that of 'getting elected' would be a disaster. If we who are building the New Party have come to truly believe . . . that the competitive, geared-to-profit system is a good system, requiring only a few reforms to make it serve the people, then there is no need for us to build a New Party—we have three parties now, each pledged to make the capitalist system work for the benefit of all Canadians."

says Chartrand of Quebec

Canada's outward appearance of affluence while at the same time large sections of the Canadian and world population suffer substandard living conditions and poverty are by-products of a profit-oriented capitalist system characterized by monopoly, unemployment and economic exploitation, according to **Michel Chartrand, leader of the Quebec Partie Social Democratique**.

The answer lies neither in the policy of Washington nor in that of Moscow but in a humane socialist economy promoted by the CCF and the new party.

says Cameron of B.C.

"The New Party will go the way of other progressive movements if it is turned into a neo-liberal party," says **Colin Cameron, former BC MLA, MP for Nanaimo, and member of the provincial council of the BC CCF**.

" . . . so long as ultimate power rests in the boardrooms of corporations it will make little difference to daily life which party forms the government . . .

"The replacement of the corporation by public authorities and co-operative enterprises is clearly the next item on the agenda for Western society. Nothing less than this is an adequate reason to be for a new political party in Canada at this time."

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Assoc.

81 Queen Street West, Toronto 1, Ont. — EM. 6-1454

EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

p. 2

#65-July 1961

Must Take Clear Stand Against War Drive

Break from NATO Now!

says Bronson of Alberta

In human history it is difficult to find a 'peacetime' record of international violence and crime comparable to that displayed by the NATO powers in the past few years," according to **Harold Bronson of the Alberta CCF**.

"In the Congo particularly, the actions of the leading NATO powers have rendered completely impractical the various proposals for world government and a world police force . . .

"The record has also demonstrated that there is no probability of NATO becoming an economic rather than a military mechanism. It was created to defend capitalism by force, and both Kennedy and Macmillan have recently decided to strengthen that force.

"Hazen Argue has accurately described the now 'dead' economic clause in NATO as having been from the first 'little more than a sop.' Even if it were not, why should any socialist be anxious to strengthen the economic foundations of capitalism?

"Sooner or later these forces will push the nuclear button or its equivalent unless we stop them. NATO must go before its would-be suicides take the rest of us on the same ride."

says Fawcett of Lakehead

"The proposed foreign policy of the New Party calls for a 're-appraisal' of NATO. This is presumed to be designed to prevent a 'split' in the New Party", says **George Fawcett of Fort William**. "It could be a subterfuge to remain in NATO and to continue to support NATO's inadequacies.

" . . . NATO is well on the road to becoming a repository for nuclear weapons, either as a fourth nuclear power on its own account, or armed with nuclear rocket submarines by the United States.

"Since a 'breakthrough' in the drift to nuclear war is imperative and necessary, the New Party will be well advised to renounce NATO at once, rather than later."

says Pawley of Manitoba

"The new party program on foreign affairs does not measure up to the criteria set by us who believe Canada should adopt new policies to meet new needs of the day . . . The new party draft program is badly amiss on the NATO issue," declares **Howard R. Pawley, former president of the Manitoba CCF**.

"What is the point of claiming that you won't remain in NATO if it is an organization possessing nuclear weapons. Isn't it true that England, France and United States, all members of NATO, possess nuclear weapons and would undoubtedly use them if a third world war erupted . . .

"The draft program suggests Canada join the OAS. It appears that the only nation actively seeking Canada's participation therein, is the USA. Her purpose is obvious, to add one more non-Latin member in order to gain sufficient support to snuff out the social revolution in Cuba, and kill any others in the bud. For Canada to jump at Kennedy's pleas to join, would be to meekly endorse the Kennedy doctrine of intervention in the affairs of nations in the western hemisphere which the Pentagon believes to be Communist dominated. Witness Guatemala and Cuba. Think likewise of what would happen to Canada if Barry Goldwater became president of the US and the New Party formed the government in Canada and nationalized American investment and simultaneously withdrew Canada from the arms race.

JOIN AND BUILD NEW PARTY NOW!

Everyone should join the new party at once — all unionists whether they belong to a Canadian Labor Congress union or an independent union—all socialists no matter what their tendency—all opponents of the preparations for a nuclear war.

Do not forget but do not let any experiences that you may have had with any section of the cowardly and conniving trade union leadership stand in your way. Do not let any disillusionment with those who cut out the guts and finally sank the CCF stop you. Do not let any mistaken loyalties to any other working class political formation and their sectarian attitudes to the new party keep you out of its ranks.

Join now! Should attempts be made to keep you out, do not walk away in disgust. That is probably what they would like you to do. Fight to get in! It is your right and it is your responsibility.

The founding of the new labor party in Ottawa at the end of this month is the most important event in the history of the tumultuous struggle of the Canadian people for political and social justice.

We say this with full consciousness of the profound revolutionary character of this history, commencing with the strike of Quebec shipyard workers as early as 1741, and highlighted by the 1837 insurrections in Toronto and Montreal to win independence from the British crown and representative government; the struggle for the nine-hour day; the Winnipeg general strike; the rise of the CIO and the Windsor auto barricade of 1946.

With the development of the economy, in the process of these conflicts, the working class has grown in numbers and in strength. At the same time individuals and groups of individual participants, assimilating the broad lessons of these conflicts and parallel ones in other sections of the world, have attempted to give them greater consciousness and direction and project the concept of an entirely new social order founded on public ownership of the means of

production.

But no matter under what form these revolutionary socialists functioned, their primary purpose, what they have always looked upon as a necessary first step, is the launching of the whole working class, and getting it moving forward as a class, in the right direction. With the founding of the new party based on the trade unions, the primary organization of the working class, this aim is being realized. We have the organization of the industrial worker and working farmer into a political party of their own, independent of and challenging the political rule of the employers.

We cannot say at this time with what degree of political clarity this new labor party will be launched. It is probable that the efforts of the left wing at this time to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist policy will be only moderately successful. But the main thing is that now, following this convention, the working people of this country will be moving forward as a class, with a political party of their own.

With that they will commence to learn how to combat the capitalist class and their political leadership, the Tories and Liberals. With that they will be able to test the contending viewpoints within the party — the inconsistencies and shortcoming of that and the insight and fullness of this viewpoint.

All workers, and we address ourselves particularly to class conscious workers, should get into the new party now. To fail to do so would be to leave the thousands of workers now going into it and the tens and hundreds of thousands tomorrow to the tender mercies of the reformists—would be to play the bosses' game.

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New Party Blasts Off



#65- July 1961

Alta. CCF Gives Lead to NP Founding Rally

According to reports the Alberta CCF convention was one of the best attended and most enthusiastic conventions ever.

The delegates passed a series of amendments to both the draft constitution and the draft program, and a series of resolutions, many of which also constitute amendments to the New Party provisional statements.

The delegates endorsed a resolution demanding immediate withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, whereas the draft program veers away from the clear stand taken by the CCF convention to defend this military alliance; and as a device to mollify and confuse the opposition makes the record for Canadian withdrawal should NATO forces be provided with nuclear weapons.

The draft program calls for immediate Canadian membership in the Organization of American States. The Alberta resolution urges no Canadian entry until a New Party government is in office in view of "the way in which the U.S. has attempted to use OAS as an instrument of its own imperialist policies."

The delegates condemned the

current expenditure of 40 cents of the tax dollar on military establishment, and urged that the money be channeled into "supporting national and international programs making for positive social gains and in the cause of peace."

Through their amendments to the draft program the members of the Alberta section seek to eliminate the many ambiguities in the draft program and to make it clear that the New Party is not a make-capitalism-work party but a party opposed to exploitation of man by man and private profit, and committed to the establishment of "a new economic system" of "social and co-operative ownership and planning."

The amendments to the draft constitution are in general designed to make the party more democratic and responsive to the ranks — through increasing the number of delegates, through raising the quorum of the national council, etc. They propose that youth representation to the national conventions be considerably scaled down and that all delegates, including those from affiliated organizations be members of the New Party.

ALTA. CCF DEFENDS CUBAN REVOLUTION

WHEREAS the United States has recently undertaken an aggressive but unsuccessful invasion in Cuba, by giving substantial aid, comfort and encouragement to rebel groups, including former adherents of Batista, and has allowed the recruitment and training of an army on U.S. soil for the purpose of invading a member country of the United Nations; and WHEREAS this is in marked contrast to the friendly relations which the U.S. maintained with the previous regime under the control of the infamous Batista; and WHEREAS we believe that Fidel Castro's regime has made a sincere and in many ways a successful effort to improve the living standards of the majority of the Cuban people, and that in doing so has necessarily come into conflict with influential economic interests located in the United States: **BE IT RESOLVED** that Canada should inform the U.S. that it is resolutely opposed to any kind of intervention in the affairs of the Cuban Republic, that it believes that such action endangers world peace, and is a violation of international law and the United Nations Charter.

Fair Play Added Onto the Widening RCMP Blacklist

The Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been added to the government's unofficial blacklist of "subversive" organizations, along with the ban the bomb groups and the New Party.

CCF MP H. W. Herridge protested in the commons last month against the RCMP asking students at Montreal and Ottawa universities to act as stool pigeons and informers on fellow students associated with the ban the bomb movement, and "even those interested in the CCF New Party clubs." Underwriting the RCMP witchhunt 100 per cent, Justice Minister Fulton replied that "the respectability of the organization or the subject matter with which the organization is concerned is no guarantee against (Communist) efforts to infiltrate."

Earlier this year, Mr. Fulton smeared those who oppose his government's policy of nuclear arming Canadian forces as "subversives", as having as their purpose "to undermine the will of the Canadian people to resist aggression and to weaken Canadian resistance".

On June 9th, the same day as Herridge uttered his protests, a United Press International witch-hunting dispatch against the American Fair Play for Cuba Committee, that had appeared a week before in all major papers south of the border, suddenly hit the pages of the *Toronto Evening Telegram*. It bore the headline **Pro Cuba Reds Infiltrating Our Campuses**. Among supplementary comments was one that "Canadian authorities fear that Communists in the country are employing this latest movement as a vehicle to enable them to spread their doctrine." along with the public announcement by the RCMP itself that the Canadian committee is being "watched."

On June 13 The *Toronto Star* published Fair Play national chairman Vernel Olson's protest against the RCMP's statement which places the committee in the subversive category.

Two weeks later two of the many eminent Canadians who have sponsored the committee announced their withdrawal from the committee to the daily press.

In full retreat before the witch hunters University of Toronto Professors Kenneth McNaught and Leslie Dewart attempted to clear themselves, possibly they had the naive hope that such an action would clear the committee, by urging that the committee should itself institute a witch hunt within its own ranks. Dewart is reported as saying "we suggested (to Olson) that all governing officials of the committee should be above reproach in their loyalty to the Queen and Canada's established constitution."

Mr. Olson firmly rejected any idea of a loyalty oath. "Such a policy," he said, "would lead to a witch hunt within the organization." It would defeat the aim of uniting the greatest number of persons behind the goal of the organization, which is fair play for Cuba. Fair Play is open to all persons who agree with its aims, the political views of its members or the interpretation anyone may care to make of them are not the concern of the committee.

August 8, 1961

To the executive of Branch 2 and the organizer

Dear Comrades;

From a phone call a little over a week ago from comrade Thonne I gather that you are going to proceed as soon as comrade Graham and Harold R return from the new party convention with the calling of the city executive meeting in order to settle relations with Branch 1.

Comrade Graham and R phoned about the same time with the apparent intention that in some way the matter could be thrashed out from here ---at anyrate I met with them several times during the process of the convention for talks about the situation there. Finally Harold made a point of coming here to Toronto for further discussions.

Both Graham and R wanted the PC to suggest some other propositions both expressing no intention of going back to the city executive--G more firmly than R however. I told them we had none--that the matter had to be settled out there. But R's attitude which struck me as more honest and sincere was to press to see if there could be something worked out. He made several propositions which I told him were not practical but at anyrate had to be made to the city executive

Three of us here met with Harold on Saturday night. I am convinced that Harold really and truly wants to set up a working relationship and overcome our division but has become trapped in factional atmosphere that prevails. The first part of the discussion was somewhat hectic because we went to the trouble to give him our evaluation of the situation. But following that there was a serious discussion along the following lines;

Harold is prepared immediately upon returning to Vancouver to get a meeting together of Branch one and to fight for the branch returning to the city executive on the following propositions;

1-that the city executive reconstitute itself as a District Executive with executive powers on the basis of 2 persons from Branch one and three from Branch 2--one of the persons from Branch one being comrade Graham

2 -that a joint statement be signed in the name of the branches by leading comrades---that we agree to implement the line of the convention--that all are members of the ISA and the assignment of who is to work publicly and openly as an ISA and those who are not will be decided by the district executive--that we all agree to allocate forces to assure the circulation of the Vanguard--that we all pledge to participate in the financing of the Vanguard--that we will share the financing of the ~~halla~~ which is the responsibility of all members of the ISA on the basis of ability to pay

3 that FPFCC will be a joint effort of one and two

4 that there will be tacit agreement to curtail Munzer

5 that both branches will exchange minutes

These propositions do not come from the PC from anyone of us here. We had a discussion. Comrade Harold impressed us as seriously concerned about ~~reaching~~ overcoming difficulties there

What proposition he will make will be his--and I warned him must be Br 1's
In my opinion Harold is serious about this question. I am convinced
that Graham is not--I gave him a considerable amount of the evidence to
this effect. I think that some of the propositions that he is prepared
to attempt to advance will clarify this matter.

your

So rather than calling a meeting right ~~mixing~~ away I have suggested that he get in touch with you immediately upon his return and ask you to give him about a week to get to a meeting of Branch one. He will find out for himself. I told him that nobody was going to fall for lawyers tricks---that he should not act as a front for any maneuverers but that the approach had to be made honestly and the propositions presented honestly. That there was no way out but to go back to the city executive and to present serious propositions--that the matter had to be resolved there.

My impression is that this comrade is serious and honest but has got carried away and trapped in a factional atmosphere. Possibly in the process of his efforts it will turn out that he will be repudiated by branch one--then ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ by proper conduct on our part we will have saved one comrade which is indeed a worthwhile effort--and
at least
and we will have discredited and scattered the opposition which is certainly in an enfeebled condition.

fraternally

Ross D

The Vanguard Bookstore
81 Queen St W
Toronto

August 11, 1961

Seven Steps Bookshop
1430 Stanley Street
Montreal, Que.

Dear R. S. [redacted]

Our mutual acquaintance Alf Friend hand ed me one of your cards upon ~~my return~~ returning from a recent trip to your city with a note that you would like to receive 50 copies of The Vanguard each issue.

I have taken your instruction to heart and sent you the 50 copies of the last issue. The new issue is going to press and when it is available I would be pleased to send you copies. It seems to me that 50 copies is rather high but who knws what interest there is in Montreal after having met the many delegates at the Ottawa New Democratic convention who are acquainted with your shop. We of course accept returns. The bundle rate is 3 cents a copy. We will bill you from time to time.

Hope you have managed to take the time to read the Vanguard. An acquaintance of mine Vernal Olson tells me that he met you while he was in Cuba a few weeks ago. So I take it that the bookstore is more a labor of love than just a business proposition and that you will find material dealt with in the Vanguard of considerable interest to youself and friends

I have also taken the liberty of sending you a small bundle of a magazine which I find particularly stimulating and which I feel sure would be of interest to many of your clients. I am referring to the International Socialist Review that you received a week or so ago. This issue which is selling at 50 cents we are billing at .36 cents- it usually retails at .35 with a 9 cent mark up. We of course accept returns and would be pleased to send along more copies if you can find use for them

Do you come to Toronto at all? Should you do so I would be certainly pleased if you would drop in on us . You can be sure next time I have the opportunity to be in Montreal I will make a point to acquaint myself with what I hear is a very atmosphere around your shop.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOUNDED JOIN IT, BUILD IT, TO WIN POWER

The Workers **Vanquard**

Mid-August 1961

Vol. 6, No. (6) (66)

23

Toronto—Price 5 cents

Fails to Adopt Anti-War Policy After Stormy Two Day Debate

CCF M.P. Herridge challenged the delegates to commit the New Democratic Party to a clear and unmistakable anti-war policy by declaring in its program that it would fight to, and when elected to office actually withdraw Canada from the North Atlantic Treaty military alliance. "This is an opportunity for the NDP to give leadership—we can electrify our nation" if we take this stand, he told the tense assembly.

And tense it was. Everyone had been waiting for this debate and its outcome. At its conclusion a motion of referral back to the program committee was defeated by a substantial majority. The anti NATO policy adopted by last year's CCF convention was reversed. The NDP was committed to support of NATO—reform to be sure; and even withdrawal should NATO forces become nuclear armed—but support of NATO nonetheless.

This has been a source of bitter disappointment, not only for those who fought it out in the debate and those who have committed themselves to support of the new labor party, but for tens of thousands across the country, many of them activists in the nuclear disarmament movement, who have expressed sympathy for the party and intention of going

all-out in its support in anticipation that it would sharply differentiate itself from both the Liberals and Tories on this crucial question.

Many agree with the words of the youthful Toronto delegate Tony Moxon who declared that as an adherent to the NATO military alliance Canada has the blood of the Angolans, the Congolese, and the Cubans, on its hands and that it is time to wash our hands of this blood, time to wash our hands of NATO.

As Professor Mardiros of Edmonton put it, the students, the working class youth, the rank and file of the party, are for Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Of the 24 resolutions submitted on this question, he pointed out, 22 were for immediate withdrawal. This is the most important

question confronting the convention, if we don't give a lead, he pleaded, all the hopes and plans being drawn up at this convention will be blasted—this is not a question to be compromised—you can't compromise on the fate of humanity.

The vote was decisive. But it did not for one moment or in anyway accurately reflect the real opinion of the delegates. No one in attendance at the debate would claim that the formal position of the NDP on NATO is an accurate assessment of the collective opinion of the delegates, not to speak of the party ranks.

In order to impise their position on the delegates, the top brass of the CCF and the CLC pulled off every trick in the

(see CCF-CLC BRASS page 2)

Douglas Says Yes to Dief But No in Program Dispute

"I accept the prime minister's challenge of fighting an election on the issue of socialism versus free enterprise," declared T. C. Douglas in his acceptance speech as leader of the New Democratic Party, to a tremendous burst of

applause that swept through the ranks of the delegates.

And in his nomination speech he said "now we require a social and economic revolution which will make those goods and services (that are the result of the past 50 years of technological revolution) available to those who use them."

But on neither occasion did he so much as hint at or suggest a program that would spell out what socialists want in contest with the capitalist Liberal and Conservative parties, or that could in anyway said to be a program of economic or social revolution. Away from the convention floor, immediately after his election to leadership, in an interview with a Southern press reporter, he described as the objective of the party not a socialist society at all, but the "establishment of a welfare state . . . as in Britain, the Scandinavian countries or Israel."

He attempted to answer in his nomination speech the observation that "I am being described as a right winger . . . lukewarm towards socialization and public ownership", with the comment that "perhaps we haven't talked as glibly as some others about our devotion to socialism. We have been too busy putting it into practice."

"As proof," he said, "my colleagues and I have established more public ownership in the province of Saskatchewan than any government in Canada either past or present." But this is as cheap and demagogic a trick as they come, a safe and obvious statement of fact since the Saskatchewan government is the first and only CCF government—though it never nationalized (see STRUGGLE page 2)

Big Union Representation At Stirring Convention

Nothing is ever going to be the same again in this country with the founding of the New Democratic Party in Ottawa this month. For those who produce all the wealth but who have no real control over any aspect of their lives, the working people, now have for the first time a party of their own which can, and which the 1,801 voting delegates who assembled in Lansdowne Hall are determined will, form workers' and farmers' governments in Ottawa and in the provinces.

It was an inspiring convention, with great moments of controversy, conflict, unity and soli-

new party would never get underway but would founder on the conflict between labor and farmer, East and West, between CCFer and trade unionist. But not only did the party get underway with a full head of steam, these didn't in anyway prove to be the divisions.

The big controversy was on what kind of policy the new party should have—whether it should have a firm and consistent anti-capitalist program or whether it should have a reformist, make capitalism work, policy. The division that the debates and the votes on the major questions before the assembly revealed was an unmistakable and persistent one between the platform and the floor, between the CCF-trade union bureaucracy and the CCF and trade union rank and filer. Thus democracy was an overriding issue at this convention.

Despite vigorous opposition of the ranks, which on many occasions resulted in touch and go decisions, the CCF-trade union bureaucracy prevailed. Thus the party got underway with a program that is far from adequate to the great tasks looming before it. Instead of advancing a program that will unite the workers and working farmers of this country in a serious struggle in defense of and for the extension of their interests, the NDP has been saddled with a peaceful co-existence with Canadian capitalism program—where it is defined at all, a patchwork of piecemeal reforms. Consistent with this, instead of casting Canada in a new role on the world political arena, instead of speaking up as a forthright anti-war anti-NATO force, the new party has been committed to continue the Liberal-Tory alignment of the Canadian people behind a foreign policy of defence of capitalism on the European continent and colonialism in Africa and Asia.

But the new labor party comes onto the scene at a time of developing crisis at home and a rising curve of successful anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggles abroad. Nothing, neither demagoguery of the leadership nor bureaucratic restraints on the rank and file can shelter the new party from the impact of these events. Already the leadership's policies are being riddled with fissures. Subsequent events are certain to reveal their falseness to ever-widening ranks of the Canadian working class who are looking to the new party to meet their needs and aspirations.

The high anticipation and expectations of the Canadian workers in the new party was demonstrated by the large number of delegates from the unions in basic industry, from Steel, Auto, Packaginghouse and Textile. There was also strong representation from many of the key, strategic craft unions. The United Packaginghouse Workers Union already has approval from locals representing 17,000 of its 21,000 members to affiliate to the New Democratic Party.

At long last the working class of Canada has a mass political party of its own. It is within this party, through their experiences in struggle with the capitalist class and their political lackeys in the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit parties that they will test the contending views and through which they will forge the leadership which will construct a socialist Canada of peace and plenty.



NDP leader Douglas

arity. It was conceded by the hundreds of newspapermen who covered it for the national and international press, radio and TV, that it dwarfed on all counts, in size, in intensity of interest and participation, in enthusiasm, the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit gatherings that had assembled in the same hall only months previously.

All told there were 681 union delegates representing bodies affiliated to 49 national or international unions. Some 76 BC unionists participated in defiance of the Social Credit government's legislation barring the use of union funds for political purposes. There were 707 delegates representing the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, 248 representing white collar and professional people organized in New Party clubs, and 53 from the militant Newfoundland Democratic Party.

While no farm organizations were formally represented, in the mass of delegates the faces of many well-known leaders from the farm movement were discernible. Particularly notable were the some 200 delegates from French-speaking Quebec and the scores of youth identified with the anti-bomb movement.

In the five days of intensive, often acrimonious debate, which had lighter moments such as the mass song-fest under the leadership of labor's troubador Joe Glazer and the death march for the Liberal and Tory-labelled coffins during the electrifying nominations session, the delegates proved to be firmly united in their great purpose of launching the first mass labor party on the North American continent. But within the framework of that unity there were wide differences—not solved by the debates or the formal votes, but the solution of which awaits new experiences.

The wisecracks, the mouthpieces and apologists for the capitalists status quo were full of malicious predictions that the

Delegates Clear Way to Win Quebec for NDP

One of the most inspiring aspects of the New Democratic Party convention was the sight of some 200 delegates from Quebec and their stimulating contributions to all the key discussions in their own language. The convention was completely bi-lingual with simultaneous translations in both French and English.

But even more inspiring was the promise that this convention gave the Quebec delegates that the party can really become the organizer and leader of the Quebec workers and farmers.

The delegates acted with a vengeance to overcome the sorry influence of that combination of national chauvinism, Anglophilia and ignorance that came to dominate the CCF and gradually deprive it of any influence of importance among Quebec's five million population.

This convention recognized the strong national consciousness of the people of Quebec, their right to self-determination, and drastically revamped its constitution and program to clearly convey the federal and bi-cultural character of Canada.

The challenge was placed before the convention by Michel Chartrand, leader of the Quebec Partie Social Democratique, and accepted by the constitution com-

mittee. Everywhere that the word "national" appeared in the draft constitution it has been struck out and the term "federal" substituted where possible.

Research director of the Canadian Labor Congress, Dr. Eugene Forsey, violently attacked the move as idiocy, as childish, charging that the delegates were acting like mice instead of men. Committee Chairman Brockelbank replied that the word "nation" or "national" in the West meant "our country, Canada". But in French Canada it carried another meaning—that of a people of common ancestry and common culture—"in that part of Canada it is confusing and maybe even offensive", and he could see no reason why it had to be used. Quebec UPWA delegate Romeo Mathieu told the delegates that the term national suggests assimilation, smothering of French Canadians, and with only a sprinkling of opposition they endorsed the change.

Extensive revisions and amplifications along this line were also made to the program—that section titled Co-operative Federalism. They spell out a guarantee of the national identity of French Canadians and the development of their culture.

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And tense it was. Everyone had been waiting for this debate and its outcome. At its conclusion a motion of referral back to the program committee was defeated by a substantial majority. The anti NATO policy adopted by last year's CCF convention was reversed. The NDP was committed to support of NATO—reform to be sure, and even withdrawal should NATO forces become nuclear armed—but support of NATO nonetheless.

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NDP leader Douglas

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Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Assoc.

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Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

#66 - Aug 1961

CCF-CLC BRASS EMPLOY EVERY TRICK TO CURB AND DEFEAT ANTI-NATO FORCES

(from page one)

book. They injected themselves into the debate in such a way as to make the vote on this question a vote of confidence, even threatening to split the convention wide open, when everyone was concerned with seeing the party get off to a united, flying start. They blackmailed the delegates.

URGED SUPPORT OF OAS

This section of the draft program had been trickily worded. It didn't give blanket support but called for a re-appraisal of NATO. It conceded that the economic aid clauses had not been implemented and declared that Canada could not remain in if NATO-command forces were nuclear armed. George Fawcett writing in the Saskatchewan Commonwealth suggested that this re-appraisal was a "subterfuge to remain in NATO." But it also made the astounding demand which even the Liberals and Tories have shied away from, that Canada should join "without delay" that tool of US imperialist policy, the Organization of American States.

The redraft presented by the convention program committee merely rephrased the part on NATO but conceded to the opposition to OAS membership by dropping it and replacing that section with a few words about broadening relationships with the nations of Latin America.

The top brass cynically manipulated the agenda so that the NATO debate was cut in two, with the leadership contest sliced in between. The outcome of this contest was never in doubt—the top brass had been boasting from opening day that the odds were four to one in Douglas's favor. Both contestants had taken a clear stand on NATO. The defeat of Argue, although many anti-NATO delegates supported Douglas, could be expected to weaken the anti-NATO forces. Douglas's victory would in itself be a victory for the pro-NATO forces and could be put to even more stringent use, as we shall see.

GAITSKELL INTERVENES

In the meantime British Labor Party Leader Hugh Gaitskell, slated

to speak following the debate, intervened in the midst of the discussion through an interview with the press which received wide publicity. The delegates read under a full page headline in the widely circulated Globe and Mail that Mr. Gaitskell "would deeply regret a Canadian decision to withdraw from NATO and had no doubt his opinion would be shared by the Canadian counterpart of his own party as well."

In all previous debates the top brass limited its intervention and in some cases studiously abstained. The NATO debate saw the vigorous intervention of all their forces right from the kickoff. Previous discussion commenced with a report from the program committee. Then the discussion was turned over to the floor with anyone earnestly seeking to do so having a good chance, as good as anyone else, of getting a hearing from one of the 5 microphones strategically placed on the vast floor. But on this occasion it was decided not to leave matters to such chance.

Prior to this point on the agenda an informal gathering of anti-NATO delegates were informed through delegate Shapiro of Regina that discussion on this section of the program would commence from the front platform with three speakers from each side. The gathering was to pick out three. When this question came up the chairman announced the procedure to the assembly and the debate was launched. Lorne Ingle, former national secretary of the CCF opened up for the pro-NATO side, buttressed by Andrew Brewin, national treasurer of the CCF, and Max Swerdlow, Canadian Labor Congress director of education.

The anti-NATO spokesmen approached the question from widely different viewpoints with one Michael Oliver, who appeared to be cast as an anti-NATO spokesman, after a series of declamations that he too had opposed NATO, ending up with a declaration of support.

BY-PASSES MIKES

Then the debate was turned over the floor. Here some youth

delegates made effective anti-NATO contributions, with Furworker leader Max Federman, contrary to even the pro-NATO resolution he supported, urging an aggressive policy of nuclear armament of Canadian armed forces.

BLACKMAIL DELEGATES

When the delegates filed into the hall on Friday morning they were greeted by the spectacle of lengthy line-ups of would-be speakers stretching out from all five mikes. Some of the delegates said that they had been there 1½ hours prior to the opening of the session. It was apparent that the majority were opponents of NATO.

Suddenly a bit of a scuffle broke out on the floor between the sergeant-at-arms and West Coast delegate William Hartley. On several occasions the chairman affirmed that no literature could be distributed to the delegates' tables without permission of the convention committee. Mr Hartley was protesting the appearance on the delegates' tables of a leaflet urging the convention "not to let Mr. Douglas down" by voting against NATO. Presented as the opinion of the youth it was sponsored by NP MP Walter Pitman, the national CCF youth president, the acting national secretary and others, one of whom later repudiated his signature as having been placed on it without his consent.

Previous procedure required chairman Grube to recognize the speakers at the mikes but he opened with the proposition that the debate proceed and conclude with 5 speakers from each side. Having gained acceptance of this, over the protests of many delegates, he decreed with a flourish that the 10 would all speak from the microphone at his side, on the platform. With one stride the party's top brass took their place at the mike, by-passing the speakers lined up on the floor who in a mad scramble tried to overcome the 100 to 150 yards that separate some of them from the podium.

After the flurry subsided the line-up of the pro-NATO spoke-

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men appeared as follows; Kalman Kaplansky, CLC international affairs director, L. Roberg of the Montreal Labor Council, M. J. Coldwell, former leader of the CCF, David Lewis, CCF national president, and the newly elected New Democratic Party leader himself, T. C. Douglas.

DOUGLAS THREATENS

Their mere presence, their direct intervention, the top brass' pulling its rank, constituted blackmail of the delegates. They soon went further—to insinuate the words of political blackmail. Douglas' appearance was in effect a demand for a new mandate. By his presence he placed his office, which he had won at a high pitch of enthusiasm only hours before, once again before the delegates. If there could be any doubt on this score he made this crystal clear in the process of his address.

Kaplansky made a "hard cop" speech which cast an aura of reasonableness around Coldwell's and Douglas' contribution. He demanded that Canada should acquire weapons of her own in violation of the official position of the CLC.

In contrast to Kaplansky the grand old man of the CCF, M. J. Coldwell, cast himself in the role of "soft cop." He presented the resolution as a reasonable compromise between the two extremes. He appealed to the feelings of solidarity and loyalty to fellow parties of the Second International whose leaders are

cajoling the ranks behind the policies of the US State Department.

With legalistic skill Lewis presented this as a question upon which the entire unity of the party was posed, which of course called for retreat, not on their part, but on the part of the anti-NATO forces. He invoked Augue's congratulatory pledge of support speech to Douglas as being compromised by the opponents of NATO and made the pitch for Douglas' intervention by urging the delegates to get solidly behind the new leader.

Douglas opened by stating that he was making no apology for intervening in the debate—and made it clear that he had as leader no intention of accepting a policy that was anti-NATO. After all he said, it is I who will have to explain the policy. Being for or against NATO is not a policy in itself—the policy we are for is world collective security. Can we use NATO, he asked, to contribute eventually this way? When a chorus of No met his query, he snapped back: "Booing is the last resort of persons bankrupt of ideas." I say we haven't tried, and then he advanced the incredibly puerile idea that a NDP government would make every effort to convince the US State Department,

Tory MacMillan and Bonapartist DeGaulle, who built up the NATO military alliance as an extra-UN force, to place it under the UN collective security system.

There was no debate of ideas. All the top brass grandly ignored the contributions of Quebec leader Chartrand who exposed the NATO alliance as an instrument of imperialist policy designed to uphold capitalism and maintain colonialism, the remarks of Pulp and Sulphite leader Orville Braaten, CCF M.P. Herdridge, and Professor Mardiros, youthful Jack Shapiro of Regina who exposed the double talk of the resolution by pointing out that the nuclear arms club is already spreading and that in actuality NATO is already nuclear armed.

The top brass of the New Democratic Party were not counting on ideas but on their prestige, their scarcely veiled threats, on the honest and intense aspirations of the delegates to see the new labor party get underway united and dynamically.

The defeat of the anti-war forces was a costly one. Formally, on this crucial question, the New Democratic Party has a position that in no way demarks it from the capitalist Liberal Party.

The victory of the leadership over the rank and file cost it much also—much of the good will, the respect that it has had heretofore in the delegates' eyes. Many have a clearer understanding now of the conservative nature of this leadership and how it cripples the movement, and the need to organize to fight to win a new leadership for the party.

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Delegates Clear Way to Win Quebec for NDP

One of the most inspiring aspects of the New Democratic Party convention was the sight of some 200 delegates from Quebec and their stimulating contributions to all the key discussions in their own language. The convention was completely bi-lingual with simultaneous translations in both French and English.

But even more inspiring was the promise that this convention gave the Quebec delegates that the party can really become the organizer and leader of the Quebec workers and farmers.

The delegates acted with a vengeance to overcome the sorry influence of that combination of national chauvinism, Anglophilism and ignorance that came to dominate the CCF and gradually deprive it of any influence of importance among Quebec's five million population.

This convention recognized the strong national consciousness of the people of Quebec, their right to self-determination, and drastically revamped its constitution and program to clearly convey the federal and bi-cultural character of Canada.

The challenge was placed before the convention by Michel Chartrand, leader of the Quebec *Partie Social Democratique*, and accepted by the constitution com-

mittee. Everywhere that the word "national" appeared in the draft constitution it has been struck out and the term "federal" substituted where possible.

Research director of the Canadian Labor Congress, Dr. Eugene Forsey, violently attacked the move as idiocy, as childish, charging that the delegates were acting like mice instead of men. Committee Chairman Brockelbank replied that the word "nation" or "national" in the West meant "our country, Canada". But in French Canada it carried another meaning—that of a people of common ancestry and common culture—"in that part of Canada it is confusing and maybe even offensive", and he could see no reason why it had to be used. Quebec UPWA delegate Romeo Mathieu told the delegates that the term national suggests assimilation, smothering of French Canadians, and with only a sprinkling of opposition they endorsed the change.

Extensive revisions and amplifications along this line were also made to the program—that section titled Co-operative Federalism. They spell out a guarantee of the national identity of French Canadians and the development of their culture.

New Youth Movement Promising Despite Agonizing Birth Pangs

By JOHN BANNON

The New Democratic Youth founding convention, held in Ottawa August 5th and 6th, was considerably smaller in size than that of the NDP, but nevertheless reflected the very real possibility of building a mass youth movement of the left to bring the youth of Canada into the fight for a better society. The over 80 delegates present, plus many visitors and observers, represented groupings of Young CCF and New Party youth in eight out of ten provinces, and demonstrated that, in spite of serious weaknesses, the youth movement is being launched with a solid national base under it.

In his organizational report, presented shortly after the opening of the convention, Acting-Federal Secretary Bill Piket of BC, stressed that while important if modest gains had been made over the past year, the urgent need was to expand the membership and influence of the movement as rapidly as possible. In his opinion, what existed now was only a skeletal structure, but at least was national in character and held out strong possibilities for the future. Piket

foresaw with the enthusiasm greeting the launching of the NDP, the NDY membership being counted in thousands by the next convention in two year's time. At the same time he emphasized the key role that the youth could play in building and giving leadership to the party.

This observer and many others were encouraged by the positive character of the report and thought that the future it projected was not at all unrealistic. However, this unfortunately did not entirely set the atmosphere for the gathering, as the factionalism generated by some of the right wing delegates undercut its effect in subsequent proceedings.

It was clear from an early point in the convention that there was a clear-cut division in the ranks of the delegates. The sharpest point of differentiation came during the debate on the reactionary membership clause of the draft constitution which did not simply content itself with barring members of other political parties but also "supporters" of such parties or "organizations ancillary thereto." The convention then had to sit through a session of near-hysterical red-baiting, including particularly slanderous attacks on the Trotskyists and the CP, with the standard canards, such as "disrupters, wreckers," etc. But there was a vigorous and indignant rebuttal of this hysteria.

Delegate Alvin Shapiro denounced the clause, which in effect gave unlimited powers of exclusion to the provincial executives, as "wild McCarthyism." A Saskatchewan Mennonite delegate then put the question if he as a member of a church opposing the use of military force would also be 'purged.' Paulette Silver of West Toronto NPY protested that "if we're going to call ourselves New Democratic Youth then let's

have a little democracy . . .",

Despite the atmosphere generated among relatively inexperienced delegates by the right wing, the vote carried the clause by the very narrow margin of 34 to 30.

Due to a great deal of confusion on procedural points, plus deliberate filibustering by a minority of delegates, the gathering was able to deal with only the draft constitution and a routine organizational report during the two day-long session. Thus the resolutions on domestic and international policy from the clubs, including some which expressed considerable sentiment for support of the Cuban revolution, withdrawal from NATO, and nationalization of basic industries, did not reach the floor. Again, however, it was significant that a right-wing motion to refer the resolutions to the federal executive instead of back to the clubs was met with heated opposition and passed by a mere handful of votes.

In summation, the convention, for all its failings, succeeded in adopting a constitution and putting an organizational base under the fledgling organization which is now on the wing. The presence of such a large number of young people, (many of them coming from the various anti-war movements) who look on themselves as left-wingers and socialists, and who, in many cases see their task as bringing socialist ideas to the program of the NDP and the labor movement, is the most positive guarantee that the NDY can be built into a mass movement of radical youth which can meet the needs and problems, national and international, of Canada's younger generation, and can play a key role in leading the struggle for a socialist society.

#66-Aug. 1961

PLENTY OF GIVE AND TAKE BETWEEN BRASS AND GRASS

Whether the new party is to be truly democratic, to be open to anyone who supports it, and to be a rank and file controlled body, became a matter of sharp conflict from the very opening session of the founding convention to the dying moments of the last day.

No sooner had the opening formalities been run through when the agenda, all nicely cut and dried, unseen by the delegates until that morning, was challenged from the floor. Feelings ran high against Hazen Argue's report as CCF national leader being shoved down the agenda to the last day of the convention. A motion that he address the convention that afternoon won so much support that it visibly shook the convention officialdom and required a standing vote to ascertain whether it actually was lost.

The discussion on the adoption of the rules of order was even more tumultuous. Chairman George Grube declared an amendment lost, ruled a standing vote on it lost and when taken again for a formal count declared that it was lost by a mere 30 votes in a sea of some 1,800. There was wide feeling that the vote was not accurately counted. The mover of the amendment charged that there was no doubt that it would have carried if the trade union brass had removed the whips on the local delegates. It was CCF M.P. Herridge who challenged Rule 11 that read: "Reports of Committees shall not be amended directly on the floor" but have to be referred back to committee, with an amendment that reports CAN be amended from the floor.

There was some two hours of acrimonious struggle over the highly restrictive rules of order. At one point the chair was challenged. Some of the rulings from the chair involving protests from prominent Saskatchewan dele-

gates were so raw that Premier Douglas, seated on the platform, was noticeably disturbed.

The attempts of the Constitution Committee to ignore eight amendments—five from constituency organizations, the others from the B.C. CCF provincial executive, the Montreal Screenwriters and the Vancouver Plumbers Union, which demanded hands-off constituency nominations for federal office provoked a sharp struggle the next day. Many delegates were dissatisfied with the committee chairman's feeble defence of the right of federal council to remove candidates who had been nominated by constituency organizations in full accordance with constitutional procedures. Chairman Brockelbank defended the assumption by the FC of these autocratic powers with the feeble argument that it might happen that a nomination may go to a too-conservative candidate who could compromise the whole federal campaign. But the more experienced delegates knew that such a clause would authorize interference against the left, such as they had experienced in the old CCF. Many agreed with Toronto UAW delegate Pole-Langdon that these powers are too similar to the Star Chamber methods of the Federal Immigration Department. At one point Steel leader Eamon Park stood by the first mike, ready at any moment to intervene, shouting to committee secretary Ken Bryden "are you sure you're going to win it?" But the referral was lost.

The resolution presented by the Organization Committee on Wednesday morning, proposing that definite plans be formulated for developing support from unions unable to affiliate to the NDP, provoked a group of B.C. delegates into action to amend

it. They sought to amend it with the addition "whether or not they are affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress."

There are over 335,000 unionists outside the ranks of the CLC, including 102,000 members of the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions, the Team-

Convention Rejects Red-baiting Motion

Section II of the New Democratic Party constitution which states that membership is open to anyone who "undertakes that he will accept and abide by the constitution and principles of the party and that he is not a member or supporter of any other political party" is not exclusive and defined enough for Steel union official Bill Sefton, representing the Toronto and District Labor Council.

He demanded in a motion that this section spell out that Communists are barred from membership.

J. H. Brockelbank, Saskatchewan minister of municipal resources, and chairman of the Constitution Committee, replied: "We don't think members of the Liberal, Conservative or Social Credit parties should be members either," and the motion was overwhelmingly defeated.

The official call that has gone out for this October's Ontario New Democratic Party convention is in violation of Section II of the constitution of the party. Not only does it incorporate Sefton's motion that was defeated at Ottawa but it actually contains a scandalous "guilt by association" clause.

A delegate not only must be cleared of being a supporter of any other political party, whatever that means, but the call adds "and specially not be a member of or associate with Communists, Trotskyists or totalitarian groups, or any of their front organizations."

sters, the SIU, besides those expelled at the height of the witch-hunt as "Communist dominated" unions—Mine Mill, the Fishermen, UE.

The CLC brass have maintained the ban on the latter, failing submission of their ranks to the ukase that they purge themselves of their present elected leaderships. Aside from the 7,000-member United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union which greeted the delegates with a leaflet expressing support of the NDP and a "desire to be associated with it," the whole question of admission of the UE etc. is a red herring for they have made no approaches to the NDP but have taken a line of opposition to it.

But the B.C. delegates pointed out that the CLC brass' policy is being clamped down on the NDP to justify refusal to grant charters to clubs composed of fishermen, miners, etc. This is particularly galling for party builders in B.C. for in some areas these unions are the major if not the only working class organization. NDP candidate Prittie heaped ridicule on this policy with his observation that in one community dominated by a so-called red union a CP candidate got only two votes and the rest of the workers voted CCF. UAW International Representative Larry Sheffe grabbed the mike to make the standard blood and guts red-baiting harangue

The convention opened with a bid from the floor to submit nominations to the hand-picked Program Committee without success. Two Quebecois were added to the constitution committee. The convention closed with the delegates upsetting the administration's slate for the five vice-presidency posts. The Quebec delegates circulated a statement urging the election of Romeo Mathieu who polled 850 to Walter Young's 796, to defeat him for the fifth post.

Applaud Greetings From Cuba Trade Unions

Cuba thrust its way onto the floor on the first day of the New Democratic Party founding convention through the person of Jerry Lebourdais representing the North Burnaby B.C. Local 16-601 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (CIO-CLC).

After identifying himself at the opening of the afternoon session from mike four, Lebourdais exclaimed that he had just arrived from Cuba, which he and four other prominent BC unionists were visiting, and that he brought greetings to the convention from the Cuban trade union movement.

The chairman quickly intervened to cut Lebourdais off from reading the message, instructing him to turn it over to the convention committee to be handled along with other greetings.

The resolution forwarded by the Alberta CCF convention that condemned the US-inspired invasion and expressed support of the "sincere" and "successful" efforts of the Castro regime "to improve the living standards of the majority of the Cuban people" never came before the delegates, but a measure of their feelings about this first successful socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere was taken the next afternoon.

Carl Hamilton read the lengthy list of organizations across the globe which sent expressions of solidarity to the convention. Among the list were the British Labor Party, the Swedish Social Democrats, the German Social Democracy, etc. etc. When Hamilton read out the Spanish Socialist Party in exile there was a spontaneous burst of applause; when he came to the Federation of Cu-

ban Workers there was a wave of applause and whistling. It was obvious that the delegates didn't place the greetings from the embattled Cuban working class in the same category as other greetings.

This reporter managed to squeeze in an interview with Lebourdais between his attempts to participate in the convention debates, his arranging his return to Cuba, this time with his wife who is a delegate to the convention, and his attempts to contact officials of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union in Montreal. The leadership of this union had put a picket line on a Cuban sugar boat in Montreal harbor and were demanding that the government impose dumping charges on the shipment. Lebourdais thinks that they are playing the bosses' game—the Hershey Sugar Corporation has filed a writ to tie up the cargo and Canadian refinery interests are trying to block the shipment with the cry that it is selling below the Canadian market price. They fear that it might endanger their stranglehold on the market.

Lebourdais was compelled to disrupt his tour of the island to attend the convention but he said with assurance "I have seen enough to convince me that I should do everything in my power to get the truth about Cuba to the Canadian workers and get bigger delegations to go to see for themselves."

He told me that he had gone to Cuba with four other BC unionists, Angus Macphee, secretary of the Prince Rupert local of Pulp and Sulphite and a CCF candidate last provincial elect-

ion, Bob McCormick, president of the Ocean Falls local of Pulp and Sulphite, Lorne Robinson, executive board member of the Vancouver Carpenters Union, and Al King, president of the BC District Union of Mine Mill, all of whom are still there. They had gone on the invitation of the Cuban trade union movement.

Recalling that it was his local which last year, following extensive layoffs from Vancouver refineries had written to Castro and offered to arrange to send unemployed members to operate Cuban refineries whose former US owners were sabotaging by withdrawing personnel, I asked him what the situation was at those refineries now.

Yes, he had gone through these refineries formerly owned by Shell and Esso but now owned by the Cuban people. They are operating very efficiently. They are completely under the control of the workers who hold production meetings every month and are guided by a government plan for a year ahead. The government honoured all the former contracts with the workers whose wages were considerably higher than the average. The manager is a young man, 28 years old, who was formerly on the maintenance staff. With the invasion last Spring and the need to drastically increase production everyone pitched in to work hours of overtime. But they did not worry about wages—in fact they gave up overtime payments.

There were lots of things, he said, that he didn't understand, an expression of his impatience to return, but he emphatically declared "I know this—that the working people are in charge.

And if you want to talk about freedom I'll tell you this. They have more freedom to express their views than we have in our own unions and for that matter (referring apparently to his being prevented from speaking on the floor) in this convention."

Lebourdais attended the dinner in honor of Soviet astronaut Gagarin and addressed by both Castro and Guevara held the evening prior to the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the attempt to take the Moncada fortress at Santiago. As for the celebration itself, he said it was an incredible gathering of humanity, over a million Cubans who heard Castro make a simple and honest speech about some of the major problems confronting the nation. At one stage a mass chant swelled up from the crowd calling upon Fidel to drive the Yankees out of the Guantanamo military base. Everyone is convinced that the American imperialists will attack again—and they are not afraid to die.

Lebourdais told me that while Canada has not enacted an embargo preventing Cuba from buying Canadian goods (Canadian trade with Cuba has risen to the 18 million mark in the first four months of this year) Canada is buying less from Cuba than ever before. Cuban trade could expand considerably providing many jobs for Canadians. The Cubans need Canadian goods to carry out their program much of which we are now advocating in the program that we are shaping up here in this New Democratic Party convention as necessary for our people, said this Canadian unionist.

A Balance Sheet of the Convention

There is little doubt that despite the vigorous and sometimes highly effective efforts that the left exerted to win the New Democratic Party to a socialist policy that it quit Ottawa disillusioned and discouraged. At one point in a debate a leading spokesman of the left peevishly and somewhat sanctimoniously reprimanded the whole convention. On another occasion a prominent partisan of the left, in disagreement with one of the decisions, announced that he was going back to his constituency and sit on his hands.

Recognizing that the left did not have the funds and a ready-made apparatus at its disposal, that it was almost totally excluded from official convention bodies and had to fight from the floor against undemocratic rules of procedure and a hostile chair—that all the odds were heavily stacked against it—it is important to draw some conclusions about the experiences at the Lansdowne Coliseum. For far from this being the end of the road the left has only begun to

fight.

The first thing that struck this observer was the lack of organization of the left, the lack of a common understanding of the tasks amongst the left. In part this is due to the diverse forces that compose it at this time.

There were the old familiar names and faces of the veterans of a score of battles waged against the Coldwell-Lewis CCF leadership.

Much of this element is unfortunately aged in years, but much worse, has learned little from its own lengthy struggle. While it played an important role in the efforts to commit the party to public ownership in the preamble, and in some sense acted as a leavening factor in the whole convention struggle against the brass, it proved unable once again to connect itself with the ranks, on this occasion with the many and youthful delegates from the trade unions.

For all their understanding of the need to give the NDP a purpose of fundamental change they

have no rounded, developed theory. Their opposition to the reformists is limited, of an academic character, and doesn't flow over to other questions, particularly immediate issues of day-to-day concern. They do not constitute a consistent opposition to the Coldwell-Lewis leadership—some of them like Thomas of Victoria on some of the most burning and immediate issues are in solid agreement with the extreme right. They don't even pose as an alternative leadership. Many in this circle, instead of understanding the influx of the trade unions into the NDP as a promise of their future victory, equate the unions with the trade union bureaucracy.

Their socialism is a credo—not a guide to action. It is a socialism purged of struggle and conflict—a disembodied idea not related to any historic agency such as the Marxists recognize the working class of the advanced capitalist countries to be.

While to a large degree they stamped their character on the left, fortunately there appeared on the floor of this convention forces around which a new dynamic left can be built. They were gathered around the Argue-for-leadership campaign. They are vigorous in their opposition to the preparations for the H Bomb war and made their best contributions in the anti-NATO debate. They are pro-Cuba and fighters for democracy in the movement. Many of them have come through the CCF, a considerable number are from the anti-Bomb picket lines and there are a modest number of youthful trade unionists.

This group is without leadership. Argue gave expression to its general mood and they provided his campaign with what base he had in the convention, but he didn't lead it. It is sadly lacking in unity. We understand when it met to discuss strategy it proved unable to resolve a dispute as to whether slates are moral or not. It tends to look for easy ways, formulae and devices to win. It is impatient and suffers from a certain contempt for theory formed on the harsh

battles of the past. This flows in large part from its lack of experience and lack of knowledge of what it is really up against.

In the NATO dispute it managed to strike a powerful chord of response amongst wide layers of the new party and trade union delegations which brought the whips into play and forced the entire leadership to intervene in the debate. But even here, on international affairs, where they are strongest, they gave Douglas the stick of the UN to beat them with. For despite the lessons of the Congo, and now Tunisia, and the shameless imperialist and war mongering policies of the NATO-powers who are component powers of UN, they see possibilities of it becoming some supra-class form of world government with a "progressive" police force.

It is even weaker, in fact almost totally ineffectual when it comes to matters of NDP national policy. It didn't even put in an appearance at the microphones when the question of prices, the anti-union drive, taxes, unemployment came up on the agenda. The truth is it hasn't yet got a program which it can seriously pose as an alternative to the reformist program of the CCF-trade union bureaucracy.

Until the left adopts such a program—one that flows from the present level of consciousness and understanding of the Canadian workers and leads them in struggle against capitalism—and organizes its forces around it, it will fail to make any real headway in the NDP.

The members and supporters of the New Democratic Party organized in the League for Socialist Action have made an important contribution to this problem in their statement of purpose. Their's as well as all others' views will be tested in the day to day life of the party, in the clubs and in the unions where the forces are now being organized and tempered to put a workers and farmers government into power.



Socialist Workers Party

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

ALgonquin 5-7460

JAMES P. CANNON
National Chairman

FARRELL DOBBS
National Secretary

September 26, 1961

Dear Ross:

Dear Friend!

Comrade Joseph Hansen, editor of The Militant, left last week for an extended tour of Latin America. Just as soon as we receive his first reports we will see that you are provided with copies.

Thanks to the generous donations received from friends in Canada through the Workers Vanguard and the League for Socialist Action the Latin American tour by Comrade Hansen was greatly facilitated.

We wish that you would extend our thanks to all those whose contributions made it possible for the tour to be undertaken.

Comradely yours,

Tom Kerry

Tom Kerry
Acting National Secretary

TK/c

Found in 1961

VANCOUVER FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

Saturday, September 30, at 8 P.M., the Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba Committee invites you to attend a meeting which will be addressed by Bert Wainer, of the Student Council Fair Play in the United States. Mr. Wainer participated in the Anniversary celebrations in Cuba last January and has just returned from a trip to Venezuela. The meeting will be held at the LSA Hall, 875 East Hastings. A social period will afford an opportunity to further discuss with the speaker and others.

Those unable to hear Mr. Wainer on Saturday may have the opportunity to do so Sunday at the Stanley Park Forum, 1343 Robson Street, if such arrangement can be made.

THE TIME: SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 8 P.M.

THE PLACE: LSA HALL, 875 E. Hastings

#67-Sept. 1961

Shelter Drama Falls on its Face as Pickets Protest Nuclear Arms

BY R. PAUL

The experimental week spent by a young couple in a fall-out shelter, erected on the CBC lot on Jarvis Street, Toronto, blew up in the face of its sponsors. Not only was there an effective anti-nuclear arms picket line on hand to counteract the official show on Sept. 17, but when Mr. and Mrs. John McCallum emerged they just didn't play the game.

The whole to-do is part of Dieffenbaker's stepped up program, taking advantage of the Berlin crisis and the Soviet tests, to convince the Canadian people that we can survive an H Bomb war and thereby permit his government to go full steam ahead with the nuclear armament of Canadian forces.

But when a young woman carrying the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards No Nuclear Arms for Canada petition approached the McCallums they replied "Yes, we'll sign your petition against nuclear arms for Canada. I have had a lot of time to think in the last week and it is necessary to do anything we can to prevent a third world war," continued Mrs McCallum.

This response is a smashing victory for the 100-odd picketers who, as the family of four emerged from the shelter, demonstrated against the farce of civil defence carrying placards emblazoned and shouting: "There's No

Defense", "No Nuclear Arms on Canadian Soil." "Break Canada From NATO."

Taking part in this spirited and impressive demonstration were representatives from the CUCND (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), the Voice of Women, the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, and supporters and members of the New Democratic Party, some of them members of the League for Socialist Action.

When the family emerged from the shelter sharp at 5 p.m. and into the view of the TV cameras for the program "News Magazine" they were greeted with loud boos and shouts of "There's No Defense." The TV cameras picked the demonstrators up and carried them nicely into thousands of homes across Canada.

Mayor Nathan Phillips, who was jeered by one picketer as 'the man who crosses the Royal York Hotel picket line' was at hand to greet the couple as they emerged. CBC host for the program "News Magazine" came in for sharp criticism from Toronto Star writer, Jeremy Brown, who called "arrogant nonsense" DePoe's statement that the experiment was carried out under "simulated, post-attack conditions."

"McCallum knew to the minute when he was getting out," he continued. "He knew the only

poison in the air would be from exhaust fumes and not from radio-active fallout. He, his wife

TOP Br. PLAYWRIGHT HITS BERLIN POLICY

A searing denunciation of Britain for following U.S. policy to the brink of nuclear war over Berlin by John Osborne, one of England's leading writers, has drawn world-wide attention.

Osborne is best known to Canadians for the movies of his plays *Look Back in Anger* and *The Entertainer*.

In an open letter published in the left-wing labor newspaper *Tribune*, Osborne wrote: "This is a letter of hate. It is for you, my countrymen. I mean those men of my country who have defiled it. The men with manic fingers leading the sightless, feeble, betrayed body of my country to its death. You are its murderers and there's little left in my own brain but the thoughts of murder for you."

Osborne wrote that his favorite fantasy was to imagine himself watching members of Parliament frying in their "democratically elected hot seats." He said that in his heart there was murder and a knife for Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and for right-wing Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell—"you particularly." Gaitskell is especially hated by the anti-war forces in England for betraying the Labor Party's position against nuclear disarmament.

and his children knew normal life could be resumed shortly afterward."

The Toronto demonstration was one of many which took place across the world over that weekend. The most significant was London's Trafalgar Square 10,000 strong civil disobedience campaign against nuclear arms called by Bertrand Russell.

Bertrand Russell, who at the time of the demonstration was serving seven days in jail for anti-nuclear activities, issued a statement from his cell calling on scientists to refuse to work on nuclear arms and workers to blacklist all jobs connected with them.

October 2, 1961

Dear George; *Brown*
Vancouver

Thanks for the note--just received it a few hours ago.

An insert in the paper costs half the price of a regular issue meaning about 80 dollars. I would think that the price out there would be about the same as here. Now that is for a press run of about 2,500. But it is little less even were you to cut the press run to your immediate needs for the convention say about 800. Of course that is a considerably larger sum than what it would cost to put out a mimeographed job but of course it is quite a bit more impressive.

Deadlines----four days for the mail to get to you from here and we would need at least ten days from the time we got the copy until it would be off the press. So that would be if you wanted the material there by the Friday you would have to have the copy here by the 13th. Now it is probable that you would get better service in Vancouver for just an insert job. Lots of print shops could handle a job the size of the insert--but not many could handle the four pager paper. I would think that you could get a week's service in Vancouver.

Therefore I would think ~~that you should~~ if you decided that it is important that what you have to say be printed that you have it done out there.

Of course what we have to say to the Vancouver convention is of interest to all our readers. ..and you should consider this is the cost. It is a worthwhile project from a national point of view--that is wider than what you can circulate to the convention. We have about 1,400 readers right now. If you decided to run it of as a printed job we would help to defray the cost. Of course if you decide that you would like to have it printed I would be glad to do it for you from here

I might add for your information that last night we were talking about the Ontario convention which takes place next weekend. No one suggested printing anything up but there was a proposal that we consider putting out a mimeographed statement in the name of the ISA to the convention. This matter will be dealt with at the Wed meeting

Would you bring to the branch's attention that we have a fair number of the national convention issue available here. This might be ideal to distribute to the BC convention--many of them would not have seen this issue which deals with many of the questions that will be coming up before the BC provincial convention. Let me know as soon as possible if they will be wanted because we will have to be doing something with the last of them shortly. Probably we will distribute this issue at the Ontario convention next week. But there should be enough for both the Ontario and BC convention.

I hear that there are some goddam sectarians out there who are still haggling over whether the CCF is really and truly dead or not and whether BCers should go into the new democratic party. I hope that we handle them with a hot poker.

Yes, I will tell Jerry about his parcelling --fraternally--Ross

Vancouver - Found in 1961 (Oct)

JOIN US

PROTEST DIEF'S COFFINS H-BOMB FALLOUT SHELTERS

Linus Pauling and almost all of the world's scientists agree...

THERE IS NO DEFENSE

AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

The Diefenbaker "Blueprint for Survival" plans and fall-out

SHELTERS ARE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

We are being psychologically prepared for an H-bomb war. The idea is being deliberately fostered that somehow we can escape annihilation in such a war.

In event of a war these shelters will become convenient coffins in which masses of dead Canadians will be buried.

CANADIANS MUST PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S FATAL COURSE!

Canadian forces both at home and abroad are being armed with nuclear warheads. Yet the Canadian people are refused the right to vote on whether they are for or against nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. Thus they are deprived of the most elemental democratic right to vote on the issue of whether they live or die.

1. DEMAND A REFERENDUM ON NUCLEAR ARMS.
2. BREAK FROM ALL WAR ALLIANCES SUCH AS NATO AND NORAD.
3. DEMAND THERE BE NO BOMARC BASES ON CANADIAN SOIL.

PICKETING STARTS AT THE COURT HOUSE, Howe and Georgia Streets, every Saturday at 1 pm.

JOIN OUR PICKET LINE

Place: The Court House,
Georgia at Howe

Time: Sat. Oct. 8 - 1 pm
Sat. Oct. 15 - 1 pm
Sat. Oct. 22 - 1 pm
Sat. Oct. 29 - 1 pm

Sponsored by:

The Young Socialist Alliance
& The Socialist Forum Committee,
875 East Hastings Street,
For Information phone:
Regent 8 -5853

BURY UNEMPLOYMENT - NOT PEOPLE

Toronto - Found in 1961

Linus Pauling and almost all of the world's scientists
agree

THERE IS NO DEFENCE

AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

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In event of a war these shelters will become convenient
coffins in which masses of dead Canadians will be buried,

JOIN OUR PICKET LINE

AGAINST WAR

AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

AGAINST BOMARC-MISSILE BASES ON CANADIAN SOIL ...

FOR NATIONALIZATION OF WAR INDUSTRIES

FOR UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT.....

FIGHT FOR PEACE BY BUILDING A LABOR PARTY.....

Published by The Young Socialist Alliance - EM 6-1454
81 Queen St. W.

146

WELCOME TO VANCOUVER - DR. LINUS PAULING

Your visit to our city indicates progress has been made in arousing many more of our fellow citizens to the danger of radiation hazards and nuclear war - but Canadians still live in daily peril. Day after day the Diefenbaker government allows U.S. based war planes, armed with atomic warheads, to fly over this country - baring us to the possibility of a frightful accident or provoked retaliation from another world power. The Diefenbaker government continues to build Bomarc bases in Ontario and Quebec for the launching of U.S. missiles. Do you think there is any reasonable position for the Canadian people to take other than one of unilateral disarmament? Do you not think it reasonable and just that Canadian citizens demand the right to speak, through a national referendum, on these questions:

"Shall we have atomic armed foreign planes flying over us?"

"Shall we have missile bases built in our country?"

"Shall we have atomic wastes dumped along our shores?"

"Shall we have unilateral disarmament for Canada?"

Given the opportunity to express themselves by such a referendum have you any doubt the Canadian people would say: "NO! WE DO NOT WANT BOMBS AND GUNS - but housing, schools, a hospital plan and all the other good things mankind is capable of building - THESE ARE WHAT WE WANT."

Our best wishes for a successful tour,

THE SOCIALIST FORM
W.L. McNeil, Sec'y.,
875 East Hastings Street,
Vancouver 4., B.C.

FERMENT ON TORONTO CAMPUS

The University of Toronto is witnessing this fall the first awakening of what is considered by many observers to be a new radical generation. Indicative of this is the unprecedented turnout and active participation of first-year students at meetings of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the New Democratic Party.

The majority of this new left element were active last year in the high school group, Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament, and a few were prominent in the formation this Spring of New Democratic Party youth clubs. Now they are continuing and developing their political interests at university. The first two meetings of the campus NDP club were attended by over sixty persons, of whom 25 were freshmen. According to the club's left-wing president, Alvin Shapiro, this far surpasses the record of recent years.

The CUCND has devoted most of its energy so far to the mass Thanksgiving demonstration at Ottawa against Nuclear arms in Canada, in which 350 Toronto students participated. For a week

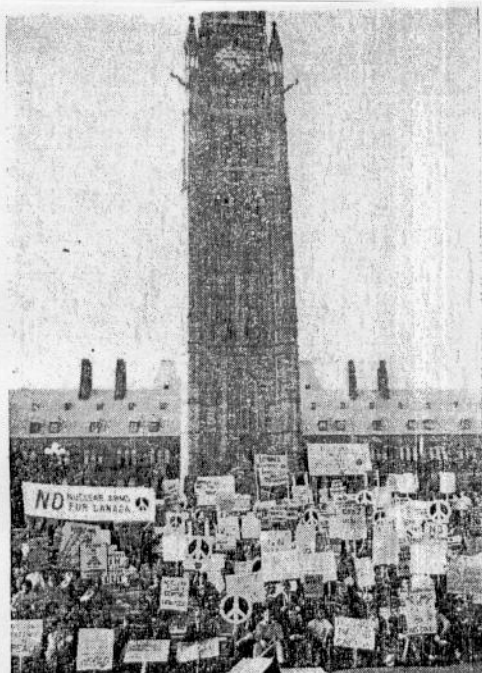
previous to the Ottawa motorcade, students gave lunch-hour orations before Soldiers' Tower, outlining the program of the CUCND and answering questions from the interested and generally sympathetic crowds which numbered up to 150 persons. Although favoring, to an increasing extent, direct action in the form of park meetings and picket lines, the CUCND still refuses to take a stand against NATO. As a "minimum policy" organization, they maintain that the Toronto students' climate is not "prepared" for such a position. Thus CUCND speakers in defending their program often find themselves in the ludicrous position of defending NATO.

An FPCC student chapter is in the process of formation at the U of T.

The major task facing the campus NDP is to build its membership, and the best way to do this is to get the nuclear disarmament advocates solidly behind the New Democratic Party. The anti-war movement must be educated as to the political nature of its struggle. Already, steps are being taken in this direction. While the CUCND was

holding its 73-hour vigil at Ottawa, NDP youth leader Dick Fidler presented a resolution to the Ontario NDP founding convention at Niagara Falls which was passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates, reaffirming the federal party's opposition to nuclear weapons, and supporting the Ottawa demonstration. At the same time students at Ottawa distributed a leaflet written by members of the East Toronto NDP youth stating their support of the motorcade. The leaflet also noted that "the NDP program calls for withdrawal from NATO should it or its members possess or control nuclear warheads." In the words of the leaflet, "Victory for the NDP means victory for the anti-bomb campaign." Thus was demonstrated the solidarity of the NDP youth with the peace movement.

If the CUCND supporters swing behind the NDP and work within the party to promote a consistent anti-war policy, and if the campus NDP comes out at the December elections with a strong socialist, anti-war program the left forces at the university will have received tremendous impetus.



Some 800 students from all the major Ontario and Quebec universities held a 73 hour vigil in front of the Ottawa parliament buildings. They commemorated the 73,000 persons killed by the US H-bombing of Hiroshima and protested against nuclear tests and the nuclear armament of Canadian forces.

Rally Lays Basis for Militant Ont. NDP Youth Movement

By JOHN BANNON

The some 100 delegates from CCF, New Party youth clubs, from CCF-NP constituency organisations, and union locals, who gathered in Toronto Oct. 14 - 15 to found the Ontario New Democratic Youth took positive steps that will make it possible to build a mass movement capable of rallying the youth of the province in the fight for a workers and farmers government.

Very early in the convention the delegates voted unanimously to accept an amendment to the article of the draft constitution dealing with the aims of the movement presented by delegate Sue Roper of the U of T campus club. Added to the original draft, which simply called upon the youth to rally support for the party, it read, "and to this end we invite the participation of all who are dedicated to the elimination of exploitation, the abolition of poverty and the extension of freedom and who seek to build a new society based on political, economic and social democracy".

Following on the heels of the party rally at Niagara Falls, the young delegates dealt another blow to the witchhunter in the movement by overwhelmingly rejecting a clause in the article on membership which would have barred members or supporters of undefined "ancillary organizations" to other political parties, also unspecified. They ignored an arrogant claim by right wingers that this could not be done because it supposedly violated the federal youth constitution. In contrast to the adult convention the youth solidly supported a motion presented by Dick Fidler of the East Toronto NDY which wrote into their constitution the right

of final appeal of disciplinary actions to the convention.

Unlike the federal youth convention of last August this convention discussed and adopted some political resolutions, thus the Ontario youth presents a program specifically directed to the youth and their problems in a capitalist society. Two resolutions presented by the Metro Toronto youth, one demanding free university education and the other calling for an end to the coercive measures employed by bureaucratic school authorities to force students into cadet corps were passed. The delegates also passed a resolution presented by Susan Lobl urging the abolition of religious indoctrination in the public schools.

The delegates showed that they were very conscious of the growing unemployment crisis and the impact it is having on young students and workers. Motions from the floor that the \$100,000,000 slated by the Tory government for centennial celebrations be used to help the unemployed, and that the civil defense expenditures be scrapped and applied to the depleted Unemployment Insurance fund were enthusiastically received. Delegates also demonstrated that in the great majority they were seriously concerned with drawing young trade unionists to the movement by guaranteeing representation to conventions of all NDP-affiliated locals.

Elections for a founding executive and delegates to the party's provincial council saw a significant influx of new, and for the most part, left-oriented elements: reflecting the broad, democratic atmosphere which prevailed among the majority of the youth.

LEFT PREPARES FOR FORMING OF BC NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

By BC Staff Correspondent

Despite their disappointment over the founding convention of the New Democratic Party, BC delegates set about the job of launching the BC provincial section. In preparation for the provincial convention, one to wind up the affairs of the CCF and the other to launch the provincial section, several seminars have been held.

The first was held in Burnaby and was well attended by CCF and trade union members. The agenda was (1) to hear a report of the Ottawa convention by BC delegates and (2) to discuss the draft constitution for the provincial section as submitted by the Organization Committee.

The reports on the Ottawa national convention were brief and bitter. Even delegates not at all considered as left wingers declared the national program provided no alternative to the programs of the old parties, and as for foreign affairs, they stated that the new party attached itself as an instrument of US State Department foreign policy.

In the discussions in that and succeeding seminars the greatest interest was shown in the draft constitution. Little if any interest was shown in the question of a provincial leader, it being generally assumed that Bob Strachan, CCF leader of the opposition in the provincial legislature, is far out in front if he wishes to accept the position. A popular figure, he compares provincially, with Douglas federally, in that both have had legislative experience, both have been trade unionists, Strachan in the building trades, Douglas in the printing trades, and both still retaining their union cards.

It is clear, from the seminar discussions that the rank and file lay more stress on the importance of the composition of the to-be elected provincial executive where the real leadership

of the party will reside rather than in any provincial leader who may be selected. But what causes the greatest concern is the question of inner-party democracy, hence the attention to the draft constitution.

There is widespread dissatisfaction throughout the CCF and trade union rank and file in BC with the machine-control established at the national founding convention and a determination that much of the control from the top will be combatted here. Some of the most obnoxious provisions of the provincial draft constitution are:

Article 4, Section 5: "All applications (into party clubs) must be approved by the provincial executive." The rank and file demand that admission of new members must be solely in the hands of the clubs.

Article 13, Section 24, would give the provincial executive power to decide what time of each year to call a convention but worse still, it would empower it to postpone a convention indefinitely: "When it deems necessary" (Sec. 24). On the composition of provincial conventions the violation of elementary democratic practice is proposed by the process of packing the convention with non-elected persons with equal rights and privileges with elected credentialed delegates, (voice and vote).

Article 13, Sec. 3A proposes as delegates "All provincial officers and other members of the provincial council," (B) "All members of the party in the provincial legislature and the house of commons" (This latter would make the convention in part, a dual one, provincial and federal.) Included also with voice and vote are "All provincial officers and other members of the provincial council" and (4) members of the National Council residing in the province, "the president and sec-

retary of the Youth Section." A good solid bloc of non-elected V.I.P.'s to begin with.

The provincial council as the "governing body of the party between conventions" shall perform their designated duties based on convention decisions—"as far as possible;" they determine what is or is not possible.

But it is in the nomination of candidates in the federal, as well as provincial elections, that the top officials propose to flout democracy. They propose to deny the constituency associations the privilege of nominating candidates of their own choosing. The rank and file can vote only for those whom the top officials approve. The draft constitution reads: "Any person proposed as a candidate must be approved before the nominating convention by the Provincial Executive." In this way the nominating convention can vote only those acceptable to the machine. This could mean that those in the best position to judge the qualifications of candidates will be denied the right to nominate one they deem best—if the machine does not regard him or her as sufficiently servile to the brass or unwilling to be a rubber stamp. It could mean that the nominating convention would be placed in the position of voting for someone they do not want or of not voting at all a choice of a lesser evil.

Think it Over . . . Ruth Paul

None can know better than women the fear and prejudice surrounding the word abortion. But all the experts on this problem are men according to the **Toronto Globe and Mail** which recently published a series of seven "viewpoints"—all written by men, one of whom has taken the vow of celibacy. This writer is a woman—who knows the joys of motherhood and feels it is time a female "viewpoint" was heard.

The Criminal Code of Canada considers an abortionist a criminal who is liable to life imprisonment, and the female upon whom the abortion is performed—an accomplice who may be imprisoned for two years.

The objection to abortion by the law and its defenders is on grounds of "morality." First, it is immoral to take an innocent, helpless life; secondly, those who do so only seek to free themselves for what one of the writers has called "illicit sexual indulgence."

To equate an embryo with a human being is a distortion of the question. It is an organism of the mother which cannot exist without her. In our society it is not legally recognized as alive until well after the third month of pregnancy. When it is lost through miscarriage no funeral services are held. Human intervention in this process suddenly transforms it from an "Act of God" to a "crime".

What hypocrisy this moral view reveals when probed further. Prison for life to those who help an unmarried woman remove her "shame". Prison for life to the

unhappy doctor who helps an unemployed family avert the disaster of further offspring. But who is tried and judged when hundreds of Canadians are driven to suicide yearly because they are unemployed or just "too old" to get a job? Why was it perfectly legal to kill millions in World War II? Why is Harry Truman, who gave the word to drop the first atomic bomb and kill 73,000 women and children, still a free man?

And what does the church say in this sphere of morals? The Anglican church is opposed to change in the abortion laws. This is the same church that recently refused to take a position against nuclear arms for Canada on the grounds that it is a "technical" and not a "moral" question—arms that are being acquired for one purpose only—to kill. A Catholic contributor to the **Globe and Mail** series vigorously defends the Catholic view—no abortions for any reason—this is murder of the innocent. Why does this standard not apply to a New York Jesuit who recently said: "a man has a moral right to use violence to defend his fallout shelter after nuclear attack."?

The law's implication that a woman is a whore unless she desire a child under almost all circumstances flies in the face of facts. US statistics show that 85% of abortions there are requested by married women—the so-called "moral fibre" of the nation. Who better than married woman can appreciate the penny-pinching of unemployment, the H bomb hovering above us, contaminated atmosphere shaping

deformed babies?

On the contrary, women, in their compassion for humanity, prefer to end pregnancy before her little one can face this kind of world.

The only crime with regards to abortion is the law which prevents it—except for those rich enough to do it illegally. A "good" doctor with whom you have made "connections" requires \$300 or better, hard cash. Working women don't have \$300 cash. They go to a "quack" who may kill, along with their more than 5,000 Canadian and U.S. sisters who die annually from this cause—not to speak of the thousands permanently injured.

There is only one humane solution—legalize abortion and treat it as any other operation under medical coverage. Canadian women have the right to end unwanted pregnancies under the best of medical care, under full protection from the law, and with the knowledge that we are not being castigated as pariahs and criminals for so doing.

Toronto

BANQUET

celebrating 44 years of
struggle for world
Socialism.

NOV. 11 \$2.00
By reservation only. Make
yours at once

Phone EM. 6-1454

Found in 1961 (Nov.)

HANDS OFF CUBA

Already U.S. Marines have been landed in Cuba. This is a threat to the newly won freedom of the Cuban people.

The Cuban government has attempted to get the threat of American invasion immediately discussed on the floor of the United Nations. Instead of welcoming this opportunity to prove its innocence of these charges the U.S. government blocked off the discussion. The Diefenbaker government supported them.

The U.S. government has been hastily evacuating all its citizens from Cuba. This is exactly what they did just before U.S. marines invaded Lebanon.

U.S. military forces are already threatening the freedom of the Cuban people from the huge military base of Guantanamo right on Cuban soil.

GET U.S. TROOPS OUT OF CUBA NO WAR BASES ON CUBAN SOIL

Support the struggle of the Cuban people by protesting the war-like actions of the U.S. government against Cuba. Unless these actions are stopped, World War III may be the result.

NOT MILITARY INVASION, BUT ECONOMIC AID.
LIFT THE EMBARGO AGAINST GOODS TO
CUBA.

JOIN OUR PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE U.S. CONSULATE AT 1030 WEST GEORGIA
(at the corner of Burrard and Georgia)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5, at 1 P. M.
and

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12 at 1 P. M.

SPONSORED BY THE FAIR
PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE.
For information phone
YU 8-7324 or RE 8-5853.

C.C.F. PARLIAMENTARY LEADER, HAZEN ARGUE, RECENTLY STATED:
"....in the ultimate analysis what the Cubans are doing is asserting that the soil and resources of their country should belong to them. Threats of intervention in the revolution from other countries should be opposed, no matter where they come from."

SUPPORT THESE IDEAS BY JOINING OUR PICKET LINE

November 15/61

Dear Ruth

I've been sending you this stuff since I thought it might fit in with your RHC activity and also because down there you are in a position to tell whether or not it is useful for the Vanguard.

Dorothy Steeves tells me that, although it is not yet official policy and probably may never become such, a very large grouping in all the "peace" organizations are convinced that Remembrance Day must be taken out of the hands of the Legion and military and that all through the year the Cenotaph is going to be used for this purpose. She says that all agree it was a mistake to apply for a permit to the Parks Board and it future this will not be done. *At that next year's Remembrance Day demonstration is planned to be much larger.*

Did you know that Steeves appeared on the local televised news two nights before and announced that regardless of the Legion, Park Board, or police she would demonstrate at the Cenotaph in her own way and during the service. She did and they did not pick her up - which was unfortunate.

The Steve Rankin mentioned is chairman of the UBC CUCND and son of Harry Rankin. Our young comrades said it was revolting to this bunch on their knees praying at the Cenotaph. Also this same gang kept the march well damped down - not even permitting talking in the ranks.

Civil Defence (Civil Deception) is becoming a big Civic issue. After a shaky start both Russ Hicks and Bob Prittie have finally declared against it in Brnaby and refused to participate in the exercise. I'm amazed at Prittie Win is considering running in the local election with her emphasis placed on civil deception.

As ever

Ruth B.

Other clippings for Vanguard.

(Ruth Bollocks to Ruth Houde(3))

HEAR THE TRUTH
JOIN IN A DISCUSSION

Found in 1961 (nov.)

HEAR

• KEN GRIEVES
C.C.F. EXECUTIVE
MEMBER VANCOUVER
CENTRE CONSTITUENCY

• JERRY HOULE
MILITANT TRADE UNIONIST



THURSDAY

NOVEMBER 17

AT

875

EAST HASTINGS

8 P.M.

SPONSORED BY THE FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE.

Stalin 'Cult' Felled by Soviet Masses

By P. KENT

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union heralded a new era in the USSR. The destruction of the Stalin cult, dramatized by the removal of the bloody dictator's mummy from the mausoleum it shared with Lenin's and a widespread removal of his image and his name from public buildings

and cities etc., in the Soviet Union, East Germany and other Soviet areas, is the biggest concession yet by his heirs to the desire of the Soviet peoples for democratization of their society.

The Soviet masses want an end to Stalinism with its rule by police terror, its rigid thought-control and regimentation, its sac-

rifices of their immediate welfare for pie in the sky, its vast wage differentials, its Great Russian chauvinism and contempt for minority peoples and anti-Semitism, etc. Khrushchov rode the crest of this massive sentiment which even broke out in the closely controlled congress and was expressed in student gather-

ings and meetings of factory workers during the sessions with his denunciations of the past and his promises of the future.

Khrushchov directed this protest against the so-called "anti-party group" composed of his former rivals, Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov and Shepilov. By labelling them

Stalinists he hoped to utilize them as scapegoats and to utterly destroy them.

He also utilized the hatred of Stalinism to strike out against Peking which has been opposing his foreign policy, by launching a massive attack against a stalking horse, against the tiny Al-

(See page 2—SOVIET MASSES)

The Workers Vanquished

Mid-November 1961

Vol. 6, No. (9) (69)

33

Toronto—Price 5 cents

The Douglas Frustrates Will of Sask. NDP

Regina—The delegates to the largest Saskatchewan CCF provincial convention ever held decisively passed a resolution urging Canadian withdrawal from the NATO war alliance. But no sooner did they do than New Democratic Party national leader T. C. Douglas intervened to force the reopening of the question and reversed the decision.

This scandalous violation of democracy didn't come hard for Douglas as he, along with David Lewis and M. J. Coldwell, had pulled off a similar outrage on the founding convention at Ottawa. There, following his election as national leader, he and the national leadership in effect planked their resignations down on the table to blackmail the delegates into acceptance of a policy of supporting NATO.

Upon appealing to the chairman who presided over this impressive gathering of more than 750 delegates in the Trianon ballroom, Douglas was allowed to revert to the resolution and present a motion of non-concurrence. It carried with a large majority.

The brass softened up the opposition in Ottawa by dropping their proposal of Canadian membership in that tool of US imperialism policy, the Organization of American States, and by assurances that a nuclear-armed NATO would lose their support. But this time Douglas made no comments on nuclear arms and NATO. Perhaps Tory Defence Minister Harkness' slashing attack on the CCF MP's in the common session immediately following the Ottawa convention was still ringing in his ears—the challenge that "didn't those who wrote the (Ottawa) resolution know that NATO had been in effect a nuclear power since adopting a nuclear strategy in 1954?"

As Douglas bowed out of 20 years of leadership of the Saskatchewan CCF he stated that to think that Saskatchewan would pass a resolution out of line with the founding convention would make him "most unhappy." It sources Minister Brocklebank chimed in; "even if we have ourselves I propose we endorse Mr. Douglas' stand and give him a chance to proceed on this basis."

The basis Mr. Douglas wants to proceed on, what he pretended the Ottawa resolution meant, is "developing special goals within NATO." This bristling with nuclear arms, straight and simple military pact, standing completely outside of the UN, under the control of the Pentagon and designed to make the world safe for capitalism and colonialism, he

fatuously suggested "we could divert" into the police force of the much vaunted UN. "If the right kind of governments get into NATO," he assured the delegates, "it could be used to help establish rule of law."

Sensing the soft and unorganized character of his opposition, Douglas was also so brazen as to prevail on the convention to table a previously adopted resolution expressing opposition to Canada joining the OAS. He placed the NDP squarely in line with the Tories when he demanded and won that Canada "should be free to join if it becomes advisable to do so."

While Douglas was able to hammer the generally left wing Saskatchewan section of the party into line on foreign policy this convention adopted a constitution which, unlike other provincial sections contains no clause empowering the provincial council to impose its will on constituency choice of provincial election candidates. A move to forbid persons with only an affiliate membership from taking office was finally voted down three to one. C. Lyons of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor challenged, "if you want to get affiliates you've got to give them rights."

A motion to bar the party from taking political action on the municipal level was decisively defeated. So were attempts to keep the Saskatchewan section on the sidelines by declaring it only an affiliate of this burgeoning national movement. The Saskatchewan CCF was declared to be the Saskatchewan section of the New Democratic Party.

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The "democratic" government of Manuel Prado, a model for Latin America in the eyes of both Eisenhower and Kennedy, was distinguished itself by killing 66 workers, peasants and students in the five years since it came to power. Washington's model Latin-American regime counts on bettering that sinister record before June 1962, date of the next election.

Juan Garcia Collantes tell

PAULLEY, DOUGLAS



The Manitoba New Democratic Party picked A. R. Paulley (left) as leader at its founding convention in Winnipeg this month. He receives congratulations from national leader T. C. Douglas.

It's High Time to Re-think Where Canada Must Stand

BY THE EDITORS

On the one hand we are witness to the revitalization of the Soviet masses wringing from the Khrushchov regime one concession on top of another, and on the march to the establishment of a new era of socialist democracy in their country. On the other hand there is the increasing viciousness of the Salazar dictatorship, the ominous trend towards fascism in France and other countries to which Canada is linked through the many ramifications of the Western alliance, together with the sharpening attack by Canadian capitalism and its representatives on labor at home. Surely these are grounds for a serious re-examination of the basic premises for the international policy that the CLC and the New Democratic Party leadership have imposed on the Canadian working class movement.

Democracy versus totalitarianism! That is the rule of thumb measure that Douglas and Jodoin would have us guide ourselves

(See page 3—TIME TO RE-THINK)

"MODEL" PRADO GOVT OF PERU

By Antonio Quispe

LIMA, Oct. 23—The Peruvian oligarchy has exacted payment from the people once again for daring to try to improve their standard of living; a stiff payment—a human life—as is the custom with the oligarchy, the life of a student named Juan Garcia Collantes.

The "democratic" government of Manuel Prado, a model for Latin America in the eyes of both Eisenhower and Kennedy, was distinguished itself by killing 66 workers, peasants and students in the five years since it came to power. Washington's model Latin-American regime counts on bettering that sinister record before June 1962, date of the next election.

Juan Garcia Collantes tell

victim in the general strike of the nation's teachers, who are demanding that the government live up to the law requiring adjustment of their wages to keep up with the cost of living. (An ordinary teacher in Peru is paid around \$8 a week, an amount that lags far behind inflationary price increases.)

The struggle has been a hard one. The strike began Oct. 1. Fifteen days later, 30 teachers in various cities went on a dramatic hunger strike. On Oct. 23 the students in Lima organized a big solidarity demonstration to help their teachers. Thereupon the Prado government intervened. Police invaded the union headquarters where the teachers on hunger strike were under union medical observation and took

them by force to various hospitals. With this action the government hoped to deprive the strikers of a most effective publicity weapon.

As was to be expected, this only aroused the school teachers and their supporters. That evening 10,000 turned out to hear strike leaders, students and spokesmen of various union locals of Lima, including the new Union Sindical de Lima which is putting the labor movement of Lima on a more militant footing after 15 years of passivity under the APRA leadership of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Peru (CTP).

After the meeting, thousands of people jammed the plaza facing the national parliament building.

(See page 4—PERUVIANS)

—as someone described Gilbert and Sullivan music: "Full of stirring sounds and signifying nothing."

Evidence that pre-convention debate and agitation by dedicated CCF and trade union leftists paid off was abundantly clear. Delegates were presented with a sheaf of material which included an almost complete re-draft and elaboration of the proposed constitution and a host of substitute motions for programmatic items. To the discerning eye most of this appeared to be an insulating blanket of words designed to obscure the retention of the original objectionable concept. However, there were some concrete modifications which were distinctly an improvement and a concession to rank and file pressure.

Most of the principled discussions ranged over the constitution. Delegates were insistent that the party must have internal practice consistent with its name: democratic. On the question of membership a strong fight was put up to have admission to membership determined at the constituency level rather than have the executive pass upon all applicants. The exclusion of persons deemed to be "supporters" of any other political party was seriously criticized. The looseness of this formulation and its utilization to enforce "thought control" leading to witch hunting on the basis of ideas entertained or advocated by applicants or members was clearly pointed out by many delegates. Despite strong opposition the objectionable items were retained on a close vote.

The convention did make a decisive break-through on two major propositions: youth organization and establishing the principle of recognition of NDP clubs as political entities.

The constitutional provision which would have relegated the youth organization to the status of a juvenile appendage was eloquently criticized by youth delegate Ruth Tate. As a result the committee was instructed to delete the debilitating section. Later, future convention representation of NDP Youth was established on an elective basis with no automatic seating of their leading functionaries.

The most meaningful decision of the convention, the act which gives assurance to the development of the NDP in B.C. as a significant working class political organization was the successful demand of the delegates that NDP clubs be recognized politically and given the right to elect delegates to conventions.

The "draft constitution" accorded convention representation only to the politically amorphous "constituency associations." Trade unionists and CCF delegates joined voices in demanding revision of this section. Bill Jukes, a delegate of the Telephone Workers NDP Club, adequately summed up the case for club representation when he pointed out: denial of club representation would effectively shut off minority points of view, either "right" or "left," when large but loosely knitted blocks of mem-

(See page 3—DEBATES AT)

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

81 QUEEN STREET WEST

TORONTO 1, ONTARIO

B.C. NDP LAUNCHED WITH HIGH PROMISE

by B.C. Staff Correspondent

Vancouver — The New Democratic Party, British Columbia section, kicked off to an auspicious start at its founding convention held in the plush Bayshore Hotel the last weekend in October. Of the 470 voting delegates present, 16 were of the provisional liaison committee, 18 from the CCF provincial executive and council, 12 MLA's, two M.P.'s, six from the NDP Youth and 23 from NDP clubs; there were also 196 delegates from CCF units and 197 trade unions and labor councils.

There had been some pre-convention beefing about holding it in this new and expensive layout. Robert Strachan, the provincial leader, alluded to this and quipped: "So what? Workers built it, didn't they?" (Incidentally, it was secured for rates comparable with any other convention site in town and the facilities were the best in the area.)

Of the convention itself: "The best laid plans of mice and men oft gang a-gley . . ." The prepared Draft Constitution and Draft Program indicated clearly that its architects envisaged the creation of an electoral machine, not a political organization; effective political expression was to be minimized and organizational control centralized. The Draft Program was designed to be innocuous to all and offensive to none — as someone described Gilbert and Sullivan music: "Full of stirring sounds and signifying nothing."

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(See page 3—DEBATES AT)

DEBATES AT FOUNDING RALLY REVEAL PROMISE OF B.C. NDP

(Continued from page 1)

bers of a constituency association elected convention delegates. Equally important, from the organizational point of view, it would kill any incentive to organize NDP clubs in unions where, for constitutional or other reasons, no affiliation to the NDP was possible. He cited his own union as an example. The convention overwhelmingly supported this amendment.

Later, after an impassioned debate, the convention again over-rode the manipulators on the question of election of officers. It was ruled that only card holding members of the CCF or NDP were eligible to accept nomination for office. The race for the microphones resembled the Olympic Games.

Again, trade unionists and CCF delegates stood shoulder to shoulder on the proposition that any accredited delegate to this founding convention should be eligible to accept nomination for office. The convention solidly supported this contention despite the opposition of even some leading union functionaries such as Pat O'Neal, secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labor.

On the matter of the composition of the provincial council, the highest party body between conventions, it was proposed that one representative be elected from each federal constituency. But the delegates demanded and established that representation be broadened—one from each provincial constituency.

Despite extensive rewriting of the original "Draft Program" most of the delegates were not satisfied and almost every item was subjected to major criticism which resulted in minor changes. Objections to the lack of clarity and clear cut pronouncements were countered with the committees' observation that the program constituted only a general declaration of aims and principles—that a concrete spelling out of what the party would do specifically was a matter for an election program and that would be worked out later. This had the effect of decidedly further blunting the debate.

However, there were some very sharp exchanges on a couple of items. The debate on "Power"—

its generation and transmission, saw the draft statement castigated as inept, evasive and unsound. Just before a luncheon recess house leader Robert Strachan read a labored statement into the record. Herbert Herridge, CCF M.P. for Kootenay West, caustically lowered the boom on the whole approach to this question and called attention to the infinitely stronger and clearer position taken by the B.C. Federation of Labor. Subsequently a much better statement was prepared and adopted.

Related to this subject was the highly controversial and unlooked for take over of the power octopus B.C. Electric by the Socred government—which took the wind out of the sails of many CCF spokesmen as this project had been the centrepiece of their electoral "socialism" for years. The Socreds have been bitterly assailed by some sections of the ruling class for their arbitrary method of establishing compensation.

The blind opportunism of the present architects of NDP policy in B.C. was never more blatantly exposed than in the resolution presented which obliquely tried to capitalize on the current criticism of the Socred government. Under the heading "Expropriation" this resolution was presented to the delegates: "be it resolved that in the event of expropriation of corporate or private property the policy of the New Democratic Party shall be that compensation shall be arrived at by negotiation and failing agreement by negotiation, that settlement be reached by arbitration proceedings." The fight was on.

A couple of CCF MLA's and some ex-public representatives upheld the authority of parliament to determine such matters, inferentially endorsing Socred procedure but not their motives.

Trade unionists caustically referred to their experiences with arbitration or the courts.

Reg Bullock, a CCF delegate, after pointing out that the effect of this resolution would be to tie the hands of a future NDP government to procedures which could be at variance with the needs of the people or the prevailing situation and the needs of the moment. He then cut through the veils obscuring the intent of the resolution and posed this question to the program committee: "The fears of which class or interest in society is this resolution designed to allay?" He got an argument from the convention chairman but no answer from the committee.

However, Anthony Gargrave, CCF MLA, a fledgling lawyer with more vanity than tail feathers, spoke immediately following. He proudly asserted: "They (the BCER shareholders) would have got far more out of it had we been the government!" In the welter of confusion the resolution finally carried.

This founding convention of the NDP was the liveliest held here since the early days of the CCF. It was action packed and doing business right up to the moment of adjournment. Its composition and debates revealed a solid and extensive working class current and attitude which will more and more consolidate and make its will effective as the organization struggles to grow and come to grips with the concrete problems facing it.

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Attention: The Toronto forum has been changed to Friday nights at 8 p.m.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Published monthly by The Workers' Vanguard Publishing Assoc.
81 Queen Street West, Toronto 1, Ont. — EM. 6-1454
EDITOR—ROSS DOWSON Subscriptions 50c a year (12 issues)

Mid-November 1961

Vol. 6, No. (9) (69)



Toronto—Price 5 cents

Douglas Frustrates Will of Sask. NDP

Regina—The delegates to the largest Saskatchewan CCF provincial convention ever held decisively passed a resolution urging Canadian withdrawal from the NATO war alliance. But no sooner did they do so than New Democratic Party national leader T. C. Douglas intervened to force the reopening of the question and reversed the decision.

This scandalous violation of democracy didn't come hard for Douglas as he, along with David Lewis and M. J. Coldwell, had pulled off a similar outrage on the founding convention at Ottawa. There, following his election as national leader, he and the national leadership in effect planked their resignations down on the table to blackmail the delegates into acceptance of a policy of supporting NATO.

Upon appealing to the chairman who presided over this impressive gathering of more than 750 delegates in the Trianon ballroom, Douglas was allowed to revert to the resolution and present a motion of non-concurrence. It carried with a large majority.

The brass softened up the opposition in Ottawa by dropping their proposal of Canadian membership in that tool of US imperialist policy, the Organization of American States, and by assurances that a nuclear-armed NATO would lose their support. But this time Douglas made no comments on nuclear arms and NATO. Perhaps Tory Defence Minister Harkness' slashing attack on the CCF MP's in the commons session immediately following the Ottawa convention was still ringing in his ears—the challenge that “didn't those who wrote the (Ottawa) resolution know that NATO had been in effect a nuclear power since adopting a nuclear strategy in 1954?”

As Douglas bowed out of 20 years of leadership of the Saskatchewan CCF he stated that to think that Saskatchewan would pass a resolution out of line with the founding convention would make him “most unhappy.” Resources Minister Brocklebank chimed in; “even if we have mis-

givings I propose we endorse Mr. Douglas' stand and give him a chance to proceed on this basis.”

The basis Mr. Douglas wants to proceed on, what he pretended the Ottawa resolution meant, is “developing special goals within NATO.” This bristling with nuclear arms, straight and simple military pact, standing completely outside of the UN, under the control of the Pentagon and designed to make the world safe for capitalism and colonialism, he fatuously suggested “we could divert” into the police force of the much vaunted UN. “If the right kind of governments get into NATO,” he assured the delegates, “it could be used to help establish rule of law.”

Sensing the soft and unorganized character of his opposition, Douglas was also so brazen as to prevail on the convention to table a previously adopted resolution expressing opposition to Canada joining the OAS. He placed the NDP squarely in line with the Tories when he demanded and won that Canada “should be free to join if it becomes advisable to do so.”

While Douglas was able to hammer the generally left wing Saskatchewan section of the party into line on foreign policy this convention adopted a constitution which, unlike other provincial sections contains no clause empowering the provincial council to impose its will on constituency choice of provincial election candidates. A move to forbid persons with only an affiliate membership from taking office was finally voted down three to one. C. Lyons of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor challenged, “if you want to get affiliates you've got to give them rights.”

A motion to bar the party from taking political action on the municipal level was decisively defeated. So were attempts to keep the Saskatchewan section on the sidelines by declaring it only an affiliate of this burgeoning national movement. The Saskatchewan CCF was declared to be the Saskatchewan section of the New Democratic Party.

PAULLEY, DOUGLAS



The Manitoba New Democratic Party picked A. R. Paulley (left) as leader at its founding convention in Winnipeg this month. He receives congratulations from national leader T. C. Douglas.

DEMOCRACY ISSUE AT MAN. NDP RALLY

Some 335 delegates voted the Manitoba CCF out of existence and transferred its assets, along with its liabilities, to the New Democratic Party in the first week of November. The high spot in the discussion of the constitution was the debate on a resolution granting the provincial executive power to veto candidates nominated by constituency conventions. M. A. Gray, MLA for Burrows, warned that approval of the clause would mean “democracy is being taken away from the NDP,” that it was “regressive and reactionary.” The clause was declared to have passed only after the holding of a standing vote.

Time to Re-think NDP Policy

It's High Time to Re-think Where Canada Must Stand

From Workers' Vanguard #69, November 1961, Editor Ross Dowson)

BY THE EDITORS

On the one hand we are witness to the revitalization of the Soviet masses wringing from the Khrushchov regime one concession on top of another, and on the march to the establishment of a new era of socialist democracy in their country. On the other hand there is the increasing viciousness of the Salazar dictatorship, the ominous trend towards fascism in France and other countries to which Canada is linked through the many ramifications of the Western alliance, together with the sharpening attack by Canadian capitalism and its representatives on labor at home. Surely these are grounds for a serious re-examination of the basic premises for the international policy that the CLC and the New Democratic Party leadership have imposed on the Canadian working class movement.

Democracy versus totalitarianism! That is the rule of thumb measure that Tommy Douglas (*newly elected leader of the newly christened "New Party," to become the NDP – ed.*) and (Claude) Jodoin (*leader of the pan-Canadian Labour Congress – ed.*) would have us guide ourselves with in the cross currents of the global conflict. No matter what could have been said for this formula before, what meaning does it have now — now with everything moving so apparently in the reverse order?

Economic democracy, meaningful democracy, these are the slogans under which the NDP has been launched and which project it into struggle against the Liberals and Tories. But democracy versus totalitarianism — it is with that crude formula that the Canadian working class is bound hand and foot to the Liberals and Tories when it comes to foreign policy.

The term democracy isn't adequate to describe the Western bloc. It is a propaganda device to cover over their essential capitalist-imperialist character. Neither does totalitarianism describe the Soviet bloc — rather does it hide their essential character as workers' states.

There are precious elements of democracy in Canada, in the US, in Britain, won at great cost and in struggle against capitalism. There is a monstrous totalitarian regime astride Soviet society. But it is necessary to probe deeper to get to the essence of things and to understand what is happening.

It is necessary to probe beneath the superstructure, to analyze the economic base of Canada and the US, the major component of the Western alliance. They are capitalist to which exploitation, class conflict and imperialism are not by any means some kind of disposable remnant from the 19th century.

And it isn't enough to reject the most crude and obvious anti-Soviet propaganda and then adopt a hands off policy, as if the fundamental nature of the Soviet bloc were of concern only to those living there.

The failure of many of the left wing in the NDP to analyze the character of the Soviet regime, when it is well known that it rests on a planned economy based on nationalized property has proven a costly matter. It has weakened their capacity to counteract the main argument against a vigorous anti-capitalist program, particularly the concept of public ownership of the basic means of production. Soviet totalitarianism, according to the NDP leadership, flows from nationalization. In order to assure democracy, we are told, we need planning and possibly public ownership, but along with the tempering influence of private ownership — a mixed economy of co-op ownership, public ownership and capitalism. And so we are witness to the ludicrous spectacle of the NDP leadership identifying democracy with private enterprise — with capitalism.

But totalitarianism is no more indigenous to nationalization than is the bureaucracy typified by Hoffa, Meany and their Canadian vest pocket versions to trade unionism. What we are witness to in the Soviet bloc is a highly contradictory phenomena — one with which NDP activists are vitally concerned from the point of view of finding their way to a correct position on foreign policy — on the key matter of war and peace.

With the ebb of the world revolution and the isolation of the first worker's state, the pressure of world capitalism on it, and its primitive technological and cultural inheritance, a conservative, parasitic bureaucracy arose on Soviet society. With Stalin as its chief spokesman and supreme arbiter, it drove the opposing Bolshevik cadre which had rallied to Trotsky into a corner, murdered it, and by framing it as an agency of a foreign power provided itself with a club with which it could beat and overwhelm future opposition forces.

But the era of defeats has closed. The revolution is no longer isolated. The planned economy is expanding and proving able to meet the needs of the masses who are demanding the egalitarian and humanistic society which was the aim of the revolution. They are demanding from those whose chief merit is the fact of their survival, that the heroic opponents of Stalinism be rehabilitated. As it is being driven back the bureaucracy is employing a strategy of striking out here and conceding there.

The worker's party doesn't support or go along with in any way the bosses' and their political agents' struggle against the unions. Nor is it neutral. It doesn't allow itself to be diverted from its position of defence of the unions by the treacherous betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy. Nor can it be indifferent to the struggle of the rank and file against this bureaucracy.

The forces must be mobilized to break the NDP from its policy of support of the NATO alliance which certainly is nuclear armed. The NDP must cease supporting the war mongering anti-Soviet cabal. Nor can it break only to assume a position of neutrality in the conflict. Certainly the entire left cannot afford to be indifferent to the inspiring

developments in the Soviet Union today. Stalinism has been a terrible blight on the making of the case for socialism amongst the Canadian working class. Its defeat will do much to clear the road ahead.

World capitalism is startled and dismayed by the re-entry of the Soviet peoples onto the political arena. The concessions that *<i>(Russian Soviet leader)</i>* Khrushchov is making under their pressure is tearing aside the myth of a subject people awaiting liberation from the West. These developments must strengthen the hand of those forces in the NDP who seek to win the NDP to a foreign policy which will identify it with every past conquest of the world working-class and aid and encourage future ones in the direction of a socialist world.

December 2, 1961
81 Queen St West
Toronto, Ont.

Vancouver

Dear Ken O.

Good to get your note and hear your plans.

By all means--make the tour--even ten days can be very valuable.

I have just finished with spending a couple of hours going through the sub cards here working out the best to be seen. I do not know what railway you work for so don't know what kind of jaunt can be taken on a pass but here ~~ix~~are the lists;

I would say that the key areas are
EDMONTON
Regina
WINNIPEG

If your RR fare doesn't take you to Edmonton I will see that we scrape the money together to reimburse you to go up from Calgary

You will see for yourself how good the Edmonton area is--with a break we could build a branch there--sooner or later we will have to colonize Regina is good from the point of view of youth connections. And Winnipeg is a key area with some good leads. The other points are incidental and it would be a mistake to use up the little time that is at your disposal covering them--including Burki--outside of Edmonton--it would take a day to make this comradely gesture. If your RR takes you to Edmonton then if you wanted a days relaxation amongst excellent comrades you could take in Llyodminster. They would appreciate meeting you and hearing the latest. This is our best concentration anywhere outside Van and Tor--too bad it is in such a narrow community.

Tommorrow I will get together some suitable literature for you. I think the best possible thing to take around is the ISR--particularly the issue with Warde's Who will change the world. I will send this off right away

We have just mailed copies of the paper to the ~~xxx~~ few names on the list whose subs have expired so when you hit them you won't hit cold. The data opposite the names is very helpful of course to adjust your approach.

Drop me a line if you want any more information and you think I can supply it.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

What Are the Facts on Weyburn NDP Defeat?

All the parties of Big Business and their mouthpieces are whooping it up over the NDP-CCF defeat in the Weyburn, Saskatchewan, provincial by-election. Since it is the first contest in Saskatchewan under the NDP-CCF banner, brought on by T. C. Douglas' resignation to head the party on the national arena, the air is thick with rumors designed to divide and weaken the NDP—that it was the tie-up with organized labor that defeated Orem, that former NDP leadership aspirant Hazen. Argue is defecting to the Liberals, that the NDP-CCF is on the skids in Saskatchewan and will fizzle out on the national plane.

But even the most superficial analysis of the vote in this single Saskatchewan riding reveals this to be so much wishful thinking. The one crystal clear point that this by-election establishes is that the Tories, along with SC, see no prospects in Saskatchewan, and that the NDP, by their admission, is the only alternative to all three boss parties. The Tories, with no representation in the house, nonetheless left the Liberals a clear contest. From the incomplete returns which registered a drop in the total vote cast about equal to what the new NDP-CCF candidate lost of Douglas' previous poll, the Liberal won only slightly more than the previous combined Liberal-Tory-SC vote.

Why didn't the swing to the NDP as revealed in Ontario last year carry over into Saskatchewan? The answer lies in the medical plan—the main issue in the campaign.

The last provincial election saw the CCF win a decisive mandate to implement a health plan despite an all-out opposition from the boss parties and the vested interests in the medical profession. However the government

equivocated, giving the opposition time and more time to distort and smear the project and mobilize tremendous forces against this beneficial legislation. This fall session, which passed all the necessary legislation, set the commencement of the plan off until next April with the first premiums due away off 12 months hence.

Worse still, instead of soaking the rich, the plan is to be financed by a series of exorbitant taxes which will bear heaviest on the worker and working farmer. Six million of the 21 million dollars required to finance it will come from personal premiums of \$12 a year for a single person and \$24 for a family. Ten and a half million will be raised by hoisting the hated Liberal-imposed sales tax from 2% to 5%. Slightly more than three and a half million will be gathered in by adding \$6 income tax to every \$100 now paid. And a mere one million by raising the corporation tax 1%.

CCF Projects Program for Emerging Alta. NDP

The Alberta section of the CCF has formally dissolved to merge with the New Democratic Party upon its founding early next year. This decision was taken at a special provincial convention held in Edmonton on November 25.

Floyd Johnson, in his address as the provincial leader of the old CCF, dismissed any idea that the problems that lead to the launching of the CCF have been solved, that the so-called affluent society has eliminated the need to bring about a fundamental change in social and human relations. The NDP, he said, still must implement the means by which a sane society could be created—a society based on the co-operative way of life instead of upon the exploitation of man by his fellow-man.

The convention adopted some amendments to the draft NDP constitution for consideration of the coming convention. Among them was one requiring that all delegates, including those from affiliated unions, hold individual membership, and another that nominees as NDP candidates be members in good standing at least three months prior to nomination. Both resolutions

coming from the Alberta section, which has been one of the most left in recent years, reflect a certain fear of opportunist pressures from the union movement. The delegates adopted a draft program for the NDP provincial committee's consideration in preparation of its final draft.

While confined entirely to the area of provincial matters the draft program calls for public ownership of electrical power and natural gas production and distribution, the establishment of co-operative farms and the encouragement of co-operative ownership of large machinery units by small land owners. It seeks to commit the Alberta NDP to a policy of free university tuition, workmen's compensation at full rates of pay, a 40-hour work week, low rental housing projects, a medical and hospital plan, a public works program designed to meet the needs of seasonal and short term periods of unemployment, and increased corporate taxes.

The preamble would make it mandatory for any NDP government to implement the policies established by the membership in convention and endorsed in a general election.

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Q. Who supports the Committee?

- A.** YOU do—or at least, we hope that you will. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has absolutely no connection with any other organization or agency. It has no paid employees. It depends on volunteer stamp-lickers and envelope addressers, and on the voluntary contributions of private persons who are, like us, interested in fair play, and honest reporting.

Q. What is the purpose of the Committee?

- A.** To disseminate truth, to combat untruth, to publish the factual information which the Canadian mass media in general suppress, which the Canadian public has the right to know, and in the process to combat the ignorance, the inadequate leadership, the blatantly distorted reporting which we believe to constitute not merely a grave injustice to the Cuban people and a serious threat to their dream of a better life, but a serious threat, as well, to the free traditions of our own people, our nation, our Hemisphere.

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with Irvine comment of same type

Wm Irvine + Farley Mowat now on committee

Off to Oshawa this weekend — at 200
to be here for FPFCC at 8.00

Read the 2 documents — finally studied them x
Would think that the Trotskyists are trying
to fuse organically with the Young groups x
Sent at all a program of action for left
wing in L.P. x CP not even mentioned
in preamble x Sent Reg a wire 36 hrs
ago (Now Thurs Morn) — Ernie is trying
to write up a statement x If he isn't able
to finish it today I will pick it up x
~~Ernie is going to be~~

the best

NP taking a favorable turn here — CCF machine has
been sitting on it but TV boys moving out independently
organizing x In touch with the Portuguese here x
Hope to lay out FWD today